

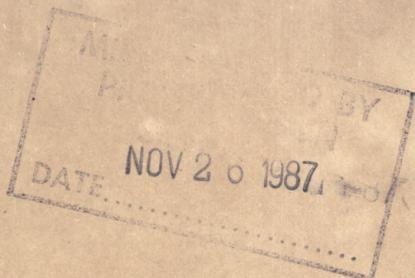


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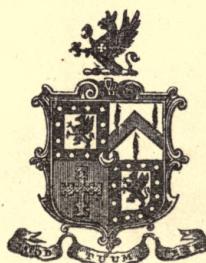
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13 Tell London of her Stewes  
and cytizens of Vfury  
and though it be no meless  
tell countezians of Lechery  
and if they do replye  
thy best deserne the lyce

14 So when thou hast (as I  
comanderd the) done blabbing  
although to give the lyce  
deserves no lesse than stabbung  
stab at the heyt will  
no stab thy bude ~~but~~ can kill.

W: Raleigh.

Go Echoe of the minde  
a carkeis troth protest  
make answer y<sup>e</sup> rude Rawly  
no stomack can digest  
for why the liss<sup>s</sup> differ  
is overbafe to tell  
to vs it came from Italy  
to them it came from Hell  
what reason proues. confesse,  
What slander saith. denye  
Let no untruth w<sup>t</sup> through passe  
but never give the lye.  
confesse in glittering court  
all ar not gould that shine,  
yet say on pearch, & much fine gould  
growes in y<sup>e</sup> Princess minde.  
confesse y<sup>e</sup> many leaues  
do overgrowe the grounde  
yet say w<sup>t</sup> in the field of God  
Good corne is to be founde.  
confesse som iudee ouirf<sup>f</sup>  
the widowes right delay  
yet say there ar some Samuels  
that never say her nay



THE  
DR. FARMER CHETHAM MS.

BEING A  
COMMONPLACE-BOOK IN THE CHETHAM LIBRARY,  
MANCHESTER.

TEMP.  
ELIZABETH, JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.

CONSISTING OF VERSE AND PROSE, MOSTLY  
HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES, BY  
THE REV. ALEXANDER B. GROSART,  
ST. GEORGE'S, BLACKBURN, LANCASHIRE.

PART I.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.  
M.DCCC.LXXIII.





PRINTED BY CHARLES SIMMS,  
MANCHESTER.

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## *INTRODUCTION.*

---

EVERY Searcher into the treasures of our early Literature is familiar with the Manuscript Commonplace-Books of the sixteenth to the seventeenth century (say 1580–1680); but I am not aware that a single example has hitherto been published, or even printed privately. Quotations and Selections from them abound, but no COMPLETE SPECIMEN seems to have been put to press. It must be conceded that in many cases their contents are sufficiently “commonplace” (in its deteriorated sense) to justify the usual name given to them. But there are happily brilliant exceptions; and I shall be disappointed if any differ from me in regarding the present Chetham MS. as one of these. It is somewhat singular too, that although in the original Prospectus of the Chetham Society it was stated, as an intended feature of its printing and reprinting, that MSS. in the Chetham Library should be given, ours is the first redemption of the promise — not we hope the last, for there are others of rare value and interest in the Library.

I have designated our volume as *The Dr. Farmer*

*Chetham MS.*, inasmuch as it is known to have been purchased—along with others—at his celebrated sale (in the catalogue of which it occurs); and I have been careful to prefix “*Dr.*,” lest as “*The Farmer MS.*” simply, some innocent agricultural readers might be turning to it in repetition of the blunder of a Society that may be left nameless, in ordering one hundred copies of the Edge-worth treatise on Irish — “Bulls.”

Who placed this MS. in the Chetham Library, and when it was acquired, have not been transmitted. This holds of many Public Libraries as well as the CHETHAM in the matter of (often) their rarest and richest possessions. Possession is their one title of ownership.

As is usual, this MS. consists of different handwritings—and not a little of it troublesomely intricate and contracted. The opening article, viz. “The Arraignment of the Earles of Essex and Southampton in Westminster Hall on Thursdaye y<sup>e</sup> xix. of Februarie 1600,” as we shall find immediately, bears internal evidences of having been written by a contemporary and spectator (if no more) of the Trial, while the “Declaracon of the Comons House of Parliam<sup>t</sup>”—the last dated piece—belongs to 1621. Thus the closing years of ELIZABETH (1600–3), and nearly the whole of the reign of JAMES I. are covered by our MS. I have placed the name of CHARLES I. also on the title-page, because a number of the articles appear to me to have been copied in the opening years (at latest) of his reign — although in this, others may come to a different conclusion.

Turning now to the several contents of this Common-place-Book, the just-named “Arraignment” at once arrests attention. Comparing it with the narratives in the *State-Trials* (vol. i. pp. 198–210, ed. 1776, folio) there are touches that assure us the Writer “*saw and heard*” all he tells. Even the heading is noticeable, as supplying “*Thursdaye*” in addition to 19th February, and there are incidental and unstudied personal words, as these: “In w<sup>ch</sup> Chaire sat the Lo. Treasurer Lo. Stewarde [Buckhurst] for y<sup>t</sup> tyme: who came into the Hall w<sup>th</sup> 7 Seargeantes at Armes, the kinge of herraldes bearinge before him a longe white rodd w<sup>ch</sup> I observed sometymes to be held by a kinge of herraldes and sometyme by a gentleman vsher” (p. 1, ll. 8–12); and so in notices of the attitudes, looks and the like, of the illustrious Prisoners—not found in the *State-Trials* or *Lives*. The same remark applies to Letters and Papers of RALEIGH and BACON herein given. Though already in part printed, they contain better readings than those extant, e.g. in BACON’s Letter to LORD HENRY HOWARD (pp. 51–2), in SPEDDING’S *Bacon* (vol. ix.=Life, vol. ii. pp. 161–2), a mistake of “best” for “bytter,” makes nonsense of a pathetic phrase; and “fruits” is mis-read for “sweetes”—the latter being more fitting with “bytter.” Again, for “in a *lewde* forge” is mis-read “in London’s forge,” and “an” is mis-dropped before “opinion.” Thus is it throughout, over and above that our MS. furnishes the exact orthography of the original holographs. I have not the shadow of wish to undervalue the painstaking of either

SPEDDING'S *Bacon* or EDWARDS' *Life of Raleigh*; but collation satisfies me that in our Chetham MS. we have a more faithful text in historically and biographically all-important Letters and Papers. Apart from our wish to present the MS. in completeness and integrity, these corrections of long-continued errors in the texts of such few articles as have been previously printed, would have decided us to re-give them. As it is, the Student will find it rewarding to compare these Letters and Papers and others (*e.g.* Speech of RICHARD MARTIN to James I., and following parliamentary Papers) as now first printed from the Chetham MS. with the same in the books named and elsewhere. It is abundantly plain that our Common-place-Book Writer was nicely true to whatever MS. was before him. Hence the Letter of ELIZABETH (pp. 43-4)—of “My LADYE RICH to y<sup>e</sup> QUEENE” (pp. 45-7)—of “My Lo. MOUNTIOYE to the EARLE OF ESSEX” (pp. 49-50), where already printed, have the same characteristics with those of the BACON and RALEIGH Letters and Papers.

But the worth of our MS. lies mainly in its VERSE. The jewel of all is the signed version of RALEIGH'S

“Go, soule, the bodie's guest,”

and the acrid “Answer” to it which introduces Raleigh's name. Prefixed to our title-page are fac-similes in photolithograph of portions of these two poems. To Dr. JOHN HANNAH, Vicar of Brighton, belongs the praise of having been the first to call attention to our MS., and specifically to these proofs of the Raleigh authorship of

a somewhat memorable Poem.\* In confirmation of MALONE's date of 1595, I have to state that in the Haslewood-Kingsborough MS., entitled by the former Antiquary and Bibliographer (when he bound together Lord Kingsborough's collections) *Records of the Muse*, a copy therein is inscribed contemporaneously "finis 1595."†

Next in value—if value be the word—to Raleigh's, is the set of "Gulling Sonnets" copied as by J. D. and Mr. Dauyes, *i.e.* (afterwards) Sir John Davies—whose most marked turns of thought and epithet are readily discerned in them. I rejoice to have this opportunity of adding to the (relatively) scanty Verse of so truly masterful a man and poet. I somehow overlooked them when editing my edition of his Poetry. Granted—they don't present him at his best nor in his best vein; but as being his they will be prized. Moreover these Sonnets bear on the face of them that they were intended to be satirical imitations or rather parodies of contemporary Sonnet Writers. Perhaps we shall not err in assigning the main references to *Zepheria*—recently reprinted by the Spenser Society—in the amusing ridicule of a peculiarity in its Sonnets, of using technical legal terms in matters of love. Other of

\* See Dr. HANNAH's admirable paper on the *Elizabethan Sacred Poetry*, in the *British Critic*, 1842, pp. 325–66; also his collection of the *Poems of Raleigh and Wotton* (1845), which has by no means been displaced by his *Courtly Poets* (1870). As more readily accessible I refer to the *Courtly Poets* (pp. 23–6, and pp. 220–22) for full details on these Poems.

† See present volume, pp. 66–7, for a very interesting Poem from these MSS.

these “Gulling” Sonnets, the Student of our poetic literature will readily appropriate to the respective Authors intended to be hit. All this is the more curious in that Dr. Donne in his second Satire seems to point to these very Sonnets — taking them for serious not sarcastical. Thus :

— “ a Lawyer, w<sup>ch</sup> was alas of late  
But a scarce poet ; iollyer of that State  
Then are new benefit Ministers, hee throwes  
Like nets or lime-twigs, wheresoe’re he goes,  
His title of Barrister on euery wench,  
*And woos in language of the pleas and bench.” \**

Could Donne have read the “Gulling” Sonnets in MS. and conceived that they glanced at his love-sonnets in the *Rhapsody* ?

JOHN HOSKINS is more fully represented in our MS. than elsewhere. His “Dreams” and “Melancholy” (pp. 85-7) are not without vivid touches. His epitaph-epigrams are not of intrinsic worth, though smart.

With reference to the lines assigned to Sir Philip Sidney “lying in his death-bed,” I have discovered since our Note (p. 98) an additional item against the Sidney authorship, viz. that the identical Lines form part of the celebration of the second wife of WILLIAM CRASHAW, father of the Crashaw, in *The Honour of Virtue* (1620).†

\* See our edition of Donne, vol. i. p. 16.

† See in its place in our edition of Sir Philip Sidney’s Poems in Fuller Worthies’ Library — being prepared; also in our Essay on *The Life and Writings of Richard Crashaw* (vol. ii.), in our edition of his Works.

Our MS. is somehow faulty in its poems from Dr. DONNE—the readings being bad repeatedly; but we are thankful for the signature “Th. Scotte” to the Lines entitled “A Wife,” which have been assigned to him—as various others erroneously—from 1669 edition of his Poems. SIR JOHN ROE of the Latin Epitaph (p. 162) was author of the Verse-Letter “January 6. 1603” to BEN JONSON,\* and the poem “Deare Love continue nice and chaste”—similarly mis-ascribed to Dr. DONNE. He was son of Sir Thomas Roe, an eminent merchant of London, according to Gifford (but see our edition of Donne, vol. ii. pp. 88-9).

Looking at the lines (p. 121) it may be worth-while to add here that they are levelled at the infamous Countess of Somerset, who was concerned in Overbury’s murder. “Canterbury” refers to Archbishop Abbot who was opposed to the divorce from the Earl of Essex, and Winchester and Ely to Bishops Bilson and Andrewes who (alas!) promoted it.

\* As a not at all rare instance of the perfunctory way in which even a Poet of the genius of Donne is criticised, it may be worth while here to invite the reader to turn to Lieut.-Colonel Cunningham’s edition of *Ben Jonson*, vol. iii. p. 471: “With regard to ‘not keeping of accent’ read, or try to read, Donne’s Lines to Ben Jonson 6 Jan. 1603.” Here we find the erudite editor selecting this verse-Epistle to BEN JONSON as a crucial example of Donne’s unrythmical ear, while he did not write a syllable of it, as proved in the conversation with Drummond in the same volume! How preposterous that any man should so hastily read a Poet as actually to take for text of a wretched criticism a poem not by that author but by another. And yet Lieut.-Colonel Cunningham merits our thanks for his work on Marlowe, Massinger and Ben Jonson.

For an amusing account of Dr. Butler, the great physician and humourist, the Reader will do well to turn to Aubrey's *Lives* (vol. ii. part i. pp. 265-70) as illustrative of his Epitaph on our page 199. Among the MSS. of Downing College (Cambridge) are Letters of this celebrity. One is curiously endorsed, "A Letter written by Mr. Butler, the famous phizitian of Cambridge, to Paull Thompson, being in Cambridge Castle for clipping of gould." It is very abusive, beginning thus : "Your giddie headed phantastique fiddling fingers and scribblinge pen, directed by the quicke motion of your quicksilver brayne." A second Letter from the same to the same, after upbraiding him with hypocrisy, ends : "Wright [sic] no more, for I am weary." Then follows "The Motto upon Senior Cornuto" — "Dæmon languebat, tunc monachus[monachus tunc]etc. [hitherto generally mis-quoted, as Ægrotat dæmon, etc.]

"The Divell was sicke, then hee a monke would be ;  
The Divell was well againe, the Divell a monke was hee."

(See *Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.*, p. 325, 1872.)

In our collection of the Writings of Sir EDWARD DYER in the Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library (vol. iv.), we show that the long Elegy for Sidney belongs to NICHOLAS BRETON not DYER. In the Oxford Rawlinson MS., which is our great authority for Dyer's Verse, it is so assigned ; and, sooth-to-say, is worthy neither of Dyer nor Breton — being empty, tedious and in every respect poor, except in certain quaint allusions to the mourning-observances for the "pure Knight." \*

\* See our collection of Dyer as above ; Postscript, pp. 63-4.

Anything else requiring to be said will be found in relative Notes.

It only remains to add that our endeavour has been to reproduce the MS. in integrity throughout, and in the precise order of the original. We have striven to be faithful to the frequently difficult and varying MS.; and yet a revision compels us to note here certain different readings that probably give more exactly the places:—  
p. 6, l. 9, fortune for torture; l. 13, put for sent: p. 9, l. 14, pleaded for persuaded; l. 16, adviser for advises; l. 29, sheete for streeete: p. 11, l. 13, arrest for access: p. 31, l. 3, thinges for though: p. 36, l. 20, forme for sonne: p. 44, l. 4, hopeth for helpeth: p. 49, l. 10, old for else: p. 85, l. 7, nowe for none: p. 87, l. 6, cleave of for leave of [off]: p. 107, l. 16, faire for face: p. 129, l. 14, wade ambitious for made ambitions: p. 134, last line, rouncuall for rouncivall: p. 172, l. 6, Tell for Lett: p. 179, l. 7, & evere since for Twere sinne; l. 12, a line omitted, ‘Which I wante arte and iudgement to pursue’: p. 184, l. 5 (from bottom), ran for cam: p. 204, l. 2, compell for counsell; l. 5, serve for showe; l. 10, since for sound; l. 12, myne for mynde: p. 209, l. 12 (from bottom), not without for noe wisdom; l. 7 (*ib.*), avoid for avow: p. 212, marginal note, ‘such’ ‘this’ for Rich. Street his complices: p. 217, l. 1, Dauid’s for daines: p. 220, (bottom line but one), God for Soe. Our first readings of nearly all these yield sufficient if occasionally obscure meanings; but we request these later to be substituted. We must also ask the Student to correct the Errata et

Corrigenda furnished on our last page ‘in all charity,’ seeing this is a first putting to press of a crabbed handwriting. Our MS. is a small quarto, and exclusive of blank pages is (moderly) paged from 1 to 193. It has usually been cited as MS. 8012, that being its number in the printed Catalogue of the Chetham Library.

Altogether I feel it to be a privilege to have been invited to edit this Manuscript for the Chetham Society. Our few introductory sentences have indicated enough to prepare the reader for intrinsic and substantial worth, not a merely antiquarian curiosity. Great names are brought up by our MS., and as OLIVER GOLDSMITH puts it, “There is a pleasure arising from the very bagatelles of men renowned for their knowledge and genius; and we receive with veneration those pieces, after they are dead, which would lessen them in our estimation while living: sensible that we shall enjoy them no more, we treasure up, as precious relics, every saying and word that has escaped them; but their writings of every kind we deem inestimable.”

I must in conclusion offer my heart-felt thanks to the book-wise and heart-whole President of the Chetham Society — JAMES CROSSLEY, Esq. — for his always ready aid in deciphering words which puzzled my younger eyes.

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

PARK VIEW,  
*Blackburn, Lancashire.*

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\* Inadvertently written in MS. and misprinted "par" for "per." G.

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*The Arraignment of the Earles of Essex and  
Southampton in Westminster hall on Thurs-  
daye ye xix. of Februarie 1600.*

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THE place was (as abovesaid) in Westminster hall in a Courte made of purpose, square and spacious, the heade towarde the Kinge's Bench: vpon the sides of the Square, were made seates for the Lordes the Tryers to sitt above, and a lower seate for the Judges; at the upper ende of the square was onely one seate, wh<sup>ch</sup> was a Chayre, and a footestooole vnder a cloth of Estate, and noe Seate nearer it then the vpper ende of the twoe sides of the Square: In wh<sup>ch</sup> Chaire sat the Lo. Tresurer Lo. Steward Buckhurst for y<sup>t</sup> tyme: who came into the Hall w<sup>th</sup> 7 Seargeantes at Armes, the kinge of herraldes bearinge before him a longe white rodd wh<sup>ch</sup> I obserued sometymes to be held by a kinge of herraldes and sometyme by a gentleman vsher. There attended y<sup>t</sup> day 4 gentlemen Vsshers in y<sup>e</sup> Courte at the foote of the Lo. Steward: there was cutt into the table a place for the Clearke of the Crowne to sitt in, And at the lower ende of the Square towardes the hall doore fatt on lowe seates the Queene's Counsel and directlie at theire backe, a place of a conveniente bignes for the 2 Earles rayled in to save them from the thronge. The Lo. and Judges beinge sett, about 9 of the clocke the Pris<sup>on</sup>ers came, ffirſt the Earle of Essex, led by the Lo. Conſtable of the Towre, the Lo. Tho. Howard, attend[ed] by divers gentlemen of quality and the Axe borne before them by the gent Porter of the Towre, w<sup>th</sup> the edge from him, and after him came the Earle

of South'ton led by the Leiftenente of the Towre Sr Jo. Peigh-ton and others w<sup>th</sup> him, and p'sentlye p'clamacon was made by a Sergeant at Armes to keepe silence and heare the Queene's Comission redd: then the Clearke of the Crowne redd the Comission: and in that tyme the Earle of Effex spake softlie twice or thrice to the E. of South'ton. The writt beinge returned, the Lo. Constable was called to bringe forth the Prisoners, Robte E. of Effex & Henrye E. of South'ton, w<sup>th</sup> done the Lo. Constable tooke his place amonge the Barons as a tryer. Then proclamacon was made to retorne the names of the Peeres sumoned vpon the triall, then the peeres were called in order as followeth: ffirſt Th'erles of Oxenford, of Shrewſbury, of Darbye, of Cumberland, of Worcester, of Suffex, of Hertford, of Lincolne and of Nottingham: The Lo. Vicount Bindon, the Lo. de La Ware, Lo. Morley, Lo. Cobham, Lo. Stafford, Lo. Graye, Lo. Lumley, Lo. Hunſdon, Lo. Riche, Lo. Darcie of Chich: Lo. Chandos, Lo. Windsore, Lo. S<sup>t</sup> John of Bletſoe, Lo. Burleigh, Lo. Compton and Lo. Howard of Wallden. A Question was moved to the Judge by the E. of Effex, whether (as in lyke caſes as it was allowed by men of private condicon) they might challenge any of there Peeres, affirminge y<sup>t</sup> though for his p'te he were verie indifferent, yet p'haps the E. that ſtoode by him, might make iuſte challenge to ſome of them. The Judges ſaid direclie y<sup>t</sup> the lawe did allowe them noe challenge of their Peeres. The Judges that fatt were the Lo. Cheife Justice of England, the Cheife Justice of the Coomon Plees, the Lo. cheife Barron, Justice Gawdye, Justice Ffenner, Justice Walmysley, Baron Clearke and Justice Kyngeſmyle: Allſo 2 Sergeantes, Mr Heale and Mr Harris. The Queene's Counſell were Mr Sergeant Yelverton, Mr Cooke, Attorney generall, Mr fflemyng ſollicito<sup>r</sup> and Mr Bacon: Then ſaid the Clerke of the Crowne, Robte E. of Effex, hold vp thy hande, w<sup>ch</sup> he did of a greate heighte, ſayinge he had done it to better p<sup>r</sup>poſe: likewiſe the E. of South'ton held vp his (ſo did they) both times, beinge joyntrie indignted by 2 feveller Endightm<sup>ts</sup>: The cheife pointes

The cheife  
pointes of th<sup>e</sup>  
endightm<sup>ts</sup>

were, the rebellinge in Essex house, the sekinge to deprive her ma<sup>tie</sup> of lyfe and gou'ment, to sett the Crowne vpon his owne heade, the Consultacon and resolucon to goe to White hall to su[r]pprize her ma<sup>tie</sup>; the imprisoninge the Lo. of the Counsell and others sent from her Ma<sup>tie</sup> to diffwade theire traytore purpos, the p'fwadinge the Londoners to ioyne w<sup>th</sup> them and the killinge the Queene's subiectes. Beinge demaunded guyltie or not guilty they both answered not guyltie and for tryall put themselves vpon god and there peeres: I have (quoth the E. of Essex) a true harte to her Ma<sup>tie</sup> and my countrye and have done nothinge but that w<sup>ch</sup> by the Lawe of nature and the necessitie of my case I was inforced vnto; Then the Lo. Steward gave the prisoners to vnderstand that howsoever theire offences were notorious, yet her ma<sup>tie</sup> was contented to allow them a lawfull and an honorable tryall: and libertie to speake for themselves. Th'earle of Essex while the Enditem<sup>tes</sup> were readinge smiled often and lifted vp his eyes to heavne and after they were redd p'tested him selfe a trew harted subiect to her ma<sup>tie</sup> and called god to witnes before Whome (he said) he looked shortelie to appeare. Then M<sup>r</sup> Seriant Yellverton began to the Lo. Steward (givinge him the tytle of Yellverton. his grace) to open the matter, makinge firste repeticon of the substance of th'enditem<sup>tes</sup>: Then vrged the pointes of imprisoninge the Lordes at Essex house in w<sup>ch</sup> doinge y<sup>t</sup> appeared they neither respected the Clemencie of her ma<sup>tie</sup> that fente them, the p'sonnys of those that came, nor theire Errand, w<sup>ch</sup> was to vnderstand theire greifes and to make sinciare report of them to her ma<sup>tie</sup> and to admonishe the dissolvinge of the vnruley companye there Congregated: All w<sup>ch</sup> notwithstandinge the[y] perfisted in theire Rebellious purposes And went into London, leavinge the Lo. in the custodye of S<sup>r</sup> John Davies, ffraunces Tresham & Owen Sallisburie, w<sup>th</sup> charge that if either any shold offer to enlarge them or that the E. of Essex shold miscarrie in the Cittye then to kyll them. When they came into the Cittye theye there foughte helpe to attempte the Courte and failinge there retorne againe to Essex house, there fortifyinge againste

Attorney.

her mate's knowne officers of her Armye, wherein he affirmed they committed manifeste treason: ffor (sayth he) yf a man intend the deathe of a kinge beinge the heade of the comon welthe w<sup>t</sup>hout w<sup>t</sup>h the members cannot live, it is Treason: they not onlye intended but also acted so far forthe as was in there powre v<sup>t</sup>: By assemblinge a powre and encitinge the Subiectes to Rebell, he compared this facte of the E. of Essex to that of CATALINE in Roome. CATALINE tooke the most sedicous, the Earle tooke Atheist, Papiste, men reconcyled to the Pope, men discontented and of dissolute behav<sup>r</sup>: the difference was onelye this that CATALYNE was followed of the Romaines, but noe Londoners followed the Earle: Then he obiected to the Earle the Queene's favor towards him; noe man advanced younger to place in Counsell nor to more dignities, all w<sup>t</sup>h the Earle abused, [and did] make his cheife companions of sword men, and affectinge popularitie declared the infacietie of Ambition, w<sup>t</sup>h never cesseth till it attayne as highe as it can fee, Comparinge it to the Crocodile that is said to growe as longe as he liveth: And these treasons beinge apparent and knowne to manie of the Peeres, havinge bene some of them her Mate's Ministers for suppressinge the Rebellion, he wondred that the Earles wold pleade not guiltie. Besides theire treasons howsoever sodainlye attempted, were not so sodainly contrived, But were of a more auncient date as shold be p'ved. Then Mr Attorney began to this effect, That for the better informacon of the Lordes, he wold deliver vnto them FITZHERBARTE'S reporte, w<sup>t</sup>h was that the verie thoughte was Treason, but because the thoughtes were onely knowne to god, therefore it is not p'mitted to be adiuged, till they appeare by some discouie either by word, wrytinge or acte, And further declared that whosoever goeth aboue into open Rebellion, is (in the construction of the Lawe) guyltie of determing the deathe and destruction of the Prince. Th'earle (sayth he) hathe done both, for he hath raised a power in a fetled goverment w<sup>t</sup>h the lawe intenedes to be a purpose to destroye the kinge, for he y<sup>t</sup> abusesthe the gou'mt hates the Governor. The contynuinge

of his power assembled at Essex house being comaunded to disperse them, is playne Treason. Agayne (faith M<sup>r</sup> Attorney) to rayse force to take a Towne, forte or place of defence is Treason: the E. of Essex raised a force not to take a small Towne but the verie Citty of London: not a slender fforce but y<sup>e</sup> Towre, nor there to rest, but to attempt the sacred Pallace of the Prince, killinge her subiectes after a most disloyall maner. What shold I say more, *Res ipsa loquitur*. But what answeres my Lo. of Essex? that the Lawe of nature comaundes and he was bound to his owne defence. But I will shewe that he transgressed the Lawes both of God & Nature and of reacon's. Consider first the Quallitie of the offence, 2 the manner 3 the p'sons by whome 4 the p'sons against whome it was comitted, and they shall be lefte w<sup>t</sup>hout excuse. And ffirst let me tell them, that Treason for satisfacon of a passion in Nature is noe excuse to Treason. All offences gainst God and nature, are peccata clemantia peccata Sanguinis: Rebellion worst of all confoundes all Nature, God and reacons. This Treason is for y<sup>e</sup> quallitie p'meditate and aymed at the heade, even of her Ma<sup>tie</sup>: ffor the manno<sup>r</sup> howe foddaine foever yet it is highe Treason: ffor foddaine Treason is not les daungero<sup>s</sup> then y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>c</sup>h is of longer growth. But my Lo. yo<sup>r</sup> offence was past an imaginerie offence, it was Armata iniq<sup>uitas</sup>; neither was it of that foddaines as yo<sup>u</sup> wold have it beleaved, ffor yo<sup>u</sup> wore a black bag about yo<sup>r</sup> necke conteininge a Catalogue of the names of such as were mene of yo<sup>r</sup> number: a black bagg was meetest for such a black cause: But my Lo. there lyes a greate burthen vppon yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>r</sup> for drawinge so many worthye gent. into so desp'ate and detestable a busines. ffor the p'sons by whome thes Treasons were comitted, they received there first breath vnder her matie's gou'nmt: Th'earldome of Essex given to his father by her ma<sup>tie</sup>; howe she hath loaden this man w<sup>t</sup>h hono<sup>ers</sup>, offices and dignities, the world can testifie (there he recyted all his offices): above all her ma<sup>tie</sup>'s favo<sup>res</sup> made him greate, neither was it fruitles to his estate: for I am able to p've and make good accompte that her ma<sup>tie</sup>'s guiftes to him

amounted to 300 thousand poundes. Allso the Earle of South: received divers favo<sup>res</sup> from her ma<sup>tie</sup>, though for his misde-meano<sup>res</sup> it pleaseth her to thinke worse of him. The p'son against whome thes treasons were intended was against her sacred ma<sup>tie</sup>, against the Relligion w<sup>ch</sup> her highenes sincerely p'fesseth at home and p'tecteth in other provinces: and her exercise of Justice comixed w<sup>th</sup> admirable mercy, w<sup>ch</sup> is aparant in this, that in the examinacon of all the p'sons imp'foned for this facte, none were rackte nor offer of fortune made vnto them. And an other thinge materiall to be noted comes into my mynde, no two of the examinantes spake togither & yet they all agree in y<sup>e</sup> substance of their tales. Then he declared the lenitye of the first p'ceedinge v<sup>z</sup>: that the Lo<sup>es</sup> of the Counsell put vnto them 2 Counfello<sup>res</sup> of State to summon him; the reason because there was a Roytous company assembled, The intent to admonish him, he cam[e] not, was forborne till the next day yt a guilty conscience counselled him to put himselfe into strengthe: ffor there were forces expected from Wales, y<sup>e</sup> discouie whereof th'earle nowe doubted & Consultacon was had amongst them 3 monthes before whether was best, first to surprize the Tower and Court, or to p've there freindes in London. Allso at Drewrie house, it was resolued vppon 4 daies before thei brake owte into open rebellion yt to goe to y<sup>e</sup> Courte was y<sup>e</sup> best: then was allotted to eurie one his severall place of charge, Sr Christopher Blunt, a reconcyled Papist, to haue charge of the vtter gate, Sr John Davies the Hall, a Papist likewise & Sr Charles Davers the presence, a secret Papist (as is confessed), Th'erle of Essex the privye Chamber: Should the Court have bene thus guarded, oh (faith) Sr Christopher Blunt, what fearefull humo<sup>r</sup> shall we fynde them in at Courte when we surprize them. Well what shold be the end of y<sup>e</sup> surprize? forsoothe to call a p'liament. A bloody parliam<sup>t</sup> wold that haue bene when yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>r</sup> that nowe standeth all in black, shold haue worne a bloody Robe. But my hope is yt he shalbe Robte the laste Earle of his house that wold have bene Robte the first Kinge of this land. Well what did he? he

assembles a greate number of Barons, Earles and gent. of Qualitie, yet her ma<sup>tie</sup> held gracous and sent vnto him favor<sup>r</sup> v<sup>r</sup>. the Lo. Keep: th'earle of Worcester, the Comptroller and the Lo. Cheife Justice, two of them of his owne blood, th'other, men that never maliced him, as himselfe will (I thinke) confess. Thes charged him vpon his alledgiaunce, to lay downe his Armes and to disolve his troupe. Nowe marke the fury of a rebellious company, They cried owte kill them, kill them, we shall have the leſs to doe, they but abuse and goe aboue to betraye yo<sup>u</sup>: here you see Treafon in the house: before he went owte he was a Traytor: when he came into the Citty whatt did he? even followed the rules of Treafon: Treafon durft never looke direſtlye vpon a Prince, for the Ma<sup>tie</sup> of godes annoynted doth ever cast forth ſuch beames as daunteth the eye of diſloyaltie and therefore he p'tendes a cauſe of ſtirringe the State, Or (faith he) at firſte entraunce I ſhould haue bene murthered by my Lo. Cobham and Sr Walter Raleighe but when he was gott w<sup>th</sup>in them & began to ſpeak nearer to them, then an other cauſe was invented, v<sup>r</sup>. yt the Kingdome of England ſhoulde be foulde to the INFANTA of Spayne: In the end fyndinge in London truer hartes then he expeſted, he refolved vpon his retorne, what to doe? to burne ſome pap'r leaſt they ſhould hurte his freindes: Then Mr Attorney beſoughe the Lo. Howard yt certaine deſoſions might be redd for prooſe of theſe matters. Th'earle replied yt there was E. Essex. oddes betweene the memorie and Oratorie of the QUEENE'S coſſell and theires that were priſoners, and that it belonged to the Q. counſell to lay all poſſible aſ'p'sions vpon thoſe at that Barr. And deſired the Peeres to conſider of theires woordes accordinglie. Then was p'duced the examinacon of one Witheringto- Witherington a borderer of Wales, that the Saterdaie before he tould th'erle of Rutland that he wondred at the Courſe he held w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> State. Th'erle of Essex tooke ſome excepcon to him in reſpecte E. Essex. he was not p'sent, but (as he faid) p'tested the finceritye of his Religion: And for the threates uſed to the Lordes, he never hard them, the house beinge ſo full of noyſe that one could not

heare an other speake: some cryed one thinge and some another, as everie p'ticular humour ledd them. But for his owne p'te he never ment any thinge towarde them, but y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> was loyall, shuitable and affectionate: ffor S<sup>r</sup> John Davyes he p'tested deeply he never knewe him not to be a papist, he came orderly to prayers in his houfe, neither obferved he in him any difference of his dres. The charge of his house when he wente owte he lefte w<sup>th</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Gellie Marwick, who had once beene his Steward and nowe was his ffreind & that w<sup>ch</sup> he did he was forced vnto in his owne iuste defence, for he understoode, not by a naked furmife but by found adu'tisem<sup>t</sup> that his private Enemyes had levied force and ment to surprize him in his house: he alfo p'tested deeplie the sincerity of his harte towarde her Mat<sup>ie</sup> and his Countrye and wished that all disloyall hartes mighte haue the reward dew vnto them.

*Lo. Admirall.* Then the Lo. Admirall desired the Lo. Cheife Justice to declare his knowledge of what passed in Essex house at his beinge there w<sup>th</sup> the rest: whereupon he was sworne and then spake to this effecte, That they were sent to them to drawe them to a better course and to informe trulye at Courte, the matters wherat they tooke offence. They required of th'erle of Essex to know his greifes, w<sup>th</sup> p'mise to reporte them sincearlie. My Lo. (sayth he) began to tell us that one was touchinge th'erle of South: in whiche instant one at my back, cryed owte kyll them, kill them: he said he knewe him not yf he fawe him agayne, but he was fuer he had on a white Sattin doblett. That they desired private conference, where to th'erle answered that he wold come to them anon. But at the dore were set Musketieres to guarde the place, and none was fuffered to goe owte from them to reporte in what plight they were. The E. of Essex replied againe that he was far from any daungerous thought towardes his LoP or any of the rest w<sup>th</sup> him, whome he had before tyme esteemeed as his speciall freindes. he fawe indeede that the comaundm<sup>t</sup> of Allegiaunce could not p'te<sup>t</sup>e the E. of South: from the late iniurye done him by my Lo. Greye, and therefore resolved to stand vpon his guard, havinge y<sup>e</sup> same adu'tisem<sup>t</sup>

*Lo. Cheife  
Juftice.*

*E. Essex.*

on the Saterday night y<sup>t</sup> his private enemys were in armes against him & the same feonded on the Sondaye morninge by p'sons worthye the beleevinge, but (quoth he) for any intent of treason towarde her Ma<sup>tie</sup> or the State, I am cleare and I can avowe asmuch for the rest there p'sent. But my Lo. Steward and the rest of yo<sup>r</sup> Lops, I wold not that yo<sup>u</sup> shold mistake me in this, as if I went aboue to saue my Lyfe: no, I despise it and am at peace w<sup>th</sup> god and have forgott the world, beinge more desirous to dye then to live. That w<sup>ch</sup> I speake is rather in satisfacon of this nobleman that standeth by me and the rest that are engaged w<sup>th</sup> me, whose hartes are purely affected and whose bodyes are able to serve their souaigne and their countrye. But to confirme in me the doubte of beinge s'rprised in my house, Sr Walter Raleigh pleaded Sr fferdinando Gorges to leave vs or he was lost, tould him that he came owte of a finkinge ship. And the adviser on Saterday night and Sunday morninge, came not from light and vayne reportes but from an honorable adu'tisem<sup>t</sup>. But my Lordes (q<sup>th</sup> he) I haue had very uniuist courses vsed against me, Papists foughte owte to accuse, as Tho. Blunt, and one Sudall a Preiste, Allsoe Bales a Scrivener confessed to me and others that he counterfeited my hand twelve tymes. What measure might I then expect from such begininge?

To that M<sup>r</sup> Attorney spake that it was true y<sup>t</sup> Bales was hired Attorney. therenvnto by a f'vant of th'earles, one John Danyell to th'intent that if afterwardes the E. owne hand were p'duced to accuse him he mighte have somewhat to allege for him selfe. Heere the Lo. Lo: Greye. Greye stooode vp and p'tested he did not nowe mallice the E. of South: ffor he delighted not to presse an abie<sup>c</sup>e ffortune. That w<sup>ch</sup> he offered him in the sheete was in respect of a newe iniurye w<sup>ch</sup> (q<sup>th</sup> the E. of South:) was never ment yo<sup>u</sup>. The Lo. Steward comaunded an ende of that speeche, tendinge but to private expostulacon. Then was redd the deposicon of Sr fferdinando Gorges to this effect, viz. that he received a l're from the E. in January last, either to come vp to London or to meeete in some place the 2 of ffebruary. At his cominge the E. told him he

stoode vpon his guard, that he ment to trust no longer, but he resolved to defend himself from restrainte. Tould him further that he was confident in London, and liked not that the Lordes shold be his int<sup>r</sup>cess<sup>rs</sup>, allsoe that he resolved to call a Parliam<sup>t</sup> havinge once gayned secure acces at Courte. That he had a strонge p<sup>t</sup>y in Wales, but first ment to try London. That he the sayd S<sup>r</sup> ffer.[dinando Gorges] came from his charge at Plymouth w<sup>th</sup>out leave, w<sup>ch</sup> beinge knowne to S<sup>r</sup> Walter Raleighe his kinsman and frend, S<sup>r</sup> Walter sent for him to come speake w<sup>th</sup> him: they appointed to meeete vpon the water on Sunday morninge, the verie day that the E. of Essex began to stirr. And there meetinge, S<sup>r</sup> Wa. Ra: told him that he wished him to dep'te the towne p<sup>s</sup>ently, or otherwise he wold be layde in the fleete, whereto he replied, tush S<sup>r</sup> Wa. this is not a tyme of goinge to the fleete, gett yo<sup>u</sup> backe to the Courte and that w<sup>th</sup> speede, for yo<sup>u</sup> are lyke to haue a bloody day of yt, wherevpon S<sup>r</sup> Walter againe advised him to come forth of that company. And then S<sup>r</sup> fferd. Gorges shoved of the Boate wherein S<sup>r</sup> Wa. Ra: was and bad him hye him there, w<sup>ch</sup> he did p<sup>c</sup>eavinge a boate to come off[<sup>f</sup>] at Essex house stayres, wherein were 3 or 4 of the E. of Essex f<sup>v</sup>antes, with peers who had in charge either to take or kill S<sup>r</sup> Wa. Ra: vpon the water. ffor the first p<sup>t</sup>e of theire meetinge

Sr. Wa. Ra.  
deposed.

Sr. Ferd.

Gorges *viva  
voce.*

E. Essex.

vpon the water S<sup>r</sup> Wa. Ra: was deposed in Courte to the same effecte. The E. of Essex desired to heare S<sup>r</sup> fferd. Gorges face to face, wherevpon he was sent for, and there delivered as much, addinge further that he desired the E. of Essex at his retorne, to goe and submitt himself; whereat the E. excepted w<sup>th</sup> this speeche or to the like effecte. S<sup>r</sup> fferd. Gorges I wish yo<sup>u</sup> shold speake any thinge that shold do yo<sup>r</sup> self good, but remember that yo<sup>u</sup> are a gent. and that yo<sup>r</sup> reputacon oughte to be deare vnto yo<sup>u</sup>. I pray yo<sup>u</sup> answere, did yo<sup>u</sup> advise me to cease my enterprise? My Lo. (q<sup>th</sup> he) I thinke I did. Nay (quoth E.) it is now not tyme to answere vpon thinkinge, did yo<sup>u</sup> indeede so counsell me? he answered I did. The E. pausing as it were in a wonder replied thus. Well, let his lyfe and my death witnes

howe truely he speakes. Then was agayne vrged the Consultation at Drewery house, at w<sup>ch</sup> was p'sent the E. of South: whereto the E. of South: replyed w<sup>th</sup> p'testation of all loyaltie E. South: in his harte towarde her Mat<sup>e</sup>. And in that he had offended her, he was hartely sory, and did in all humblenes beseeche her p'don. But touchinge the confultation at Drewery house, many thinges were indeede p'ounded but nothinge resolved, all beinge lefte in the ende to the E. of Essex himself. But (q<sup>th</sup> he) put the case as yo<sup>u</sup> wold haue it, that it was advized both to attempt the Courte and Towre att once, neither of the two was done: how can it then be made treason? It is true we did consult at Drewry house, about securinge the E. of Essex his arrest free from impeachm<sup>t</sup> and that for noe other end, but to p'strate or selves at her mat<sup>e</sup>'s feete, humblie submitttinge or selves to her mercye, and laying forth our greifes to her self, whereof we thought she had noe true informacon from others. this was the end of or meetinge, and not w<sup>th</sup> any treasonable thought of my p'te. I take god to record, and (q<sup>th</sup> he) I desire the opinion of the Judges, whether one thinge consulted vppon and an other executed be Treason, ffor we talkte of goinge to the Courte, the Towre alſo was talked vppon, but the counsell was reiecte, and this yo<sup>u</sup> will haue to be treason. ffor my p'te I knewe nothinge in the morninge when I came to Essex house of or goinge into London. when I was in London I hard not the p'clamacon, I was not neare by the lengthe of the streeete. Let my Lo. Burleigh speake (I knewe him hon<sup>orable</sup>) whether he fawe me in London or not. I never drewe my fword all the daye. I am charged to carry a pistoll: I had none when I went owte. when I came into London I fawe one havinge a pistoll. I desired it of him and had it. But it had never a stone nor cold it have hurte a flye. At my retorne into Essex house I did there what I could to hinder the shootinge, and for that ende sent Capt. White about the house. ffrom this kinde of behavor can be gathered noe thoughtes of Treason, and therefore I beseech yo<sup>u</sup> my Lordes, to censure me not accordinge to the letter of the

Lawe but as in yo<sup>r</sup> trewe consciences you are p'swaded of me,  
And in that I was to[o] farr carryed w<sup>th</sup> love to my Lo. of Essex  
I confesse to haue offended, that before rehersed beinge the  
only drift and scope of my purpose in this busines. Hereto  
Mr Attorney replied yt it was *palliata Conclusio*. Is this (q<sup>th</sup> he)

Attorney.

not Treafon to force the Queene in her owne house, to sett  
guardes at her gates in her Chambers and all p'tes of house, to  
thinkent[?] that havinge her in yo<sup>r</sup> power you mighte doe what you  
listed. Good Mr Attorney (q<sup>th</sup> the E. of South:) let, let me aske

E. South:

you what you thinke in yo<sup>r</sup> conscience, we wold haue done w<sup>th</sup>  
the Queene yf we had gayned the Courte. I p'test vpon my  
soule and conscience (q<sup>th</sup> Mr Attorney) I do beleeve she shold  
not have longe lived after she had bene in yo<sup>r</sup> power. Note but  
the p'sidentes of former ages, how longe lived Rich. the 2. after  
he was surprised in the same manner. the p'retence was alike, for  
removinge of c<sup>r</sup>ertaine counsellor<sup>es</sup>, but it shortely after cost him his  
lyfe. such is the vnquenchable thirst of Ambition, w<sup>ch</sup> never  
can be satisfied so longe as any greatness is left vnatchived. but

E. South:

know this for certaine, that to make the Courte or Tower a  
defence for private enemyes is playne Treafon. The E. of South:  
replied that the Towre was reiected as a matter ridiculous to be  
thought vpon: neither was it ment to fortifie at courte, but  
only to cast them selves at her Mate's feete. The Judges were

Judges.

required theire sev'rall opinions for the Question before p'pounded  
by the E. of South: who argued it sev'ally, and agreed that it

Lo. Admyrall

was Treafon. My Lo. Admyrall desired to be refolved whether  
the instructions for a consultacon to be had at Drewry house  
were under the E. of Essex owne hands: Then was p'duced  
and redd in Courte the examinacion of Sr Charles Davers to this  
effect, that the Earle of Essex deliberated before Christmas, to  
secure his accesse to her Mat<sup>e</sup> from possibility of resistance, to  
posses himselfe of the Courte, the p'iect of the Earle of Essex,  
his owne hand, to surprise the Capt. of the guard, the Courte  
beinge taken to send to satisfye the Cittye, to call a p'liamt, and  
to bringe his enemyes to an honorable tryall: That he wished

Sr Charles  
Davers Ex.

the E. to flye w<sup>th</sup> 2 or 3 gent. and for his owne goinge to the consultacon at Drewrie house, he was drawne there vnto, by the love he bare to the E. of South: to whome he ought his lyfe. he confesseth that he advised to seize the halbertes in the Guard Chamber, w<sup>ch</sup> done they shold w<sup>th</sup> easie enoughe posses that place, beinge p'fwaded to fynde many indifferent havinge bene the E. of Essex his f'vantes in tymes past. Then was red the Ex. of Sr Christ. Blunt, to this effect, At the first his wounde hindred him, but p'mised that when he was able to speake he wold tell all trewlye, And beinge then Ex. before my Lo. Admyrall and M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie, he confessed the p'ie<sup>c</sup>e to be as hath bene before described. he affirmeded that the E. of Essex had a purpose to alter the gou'mt, and in communicacon w<sup>th</sup> him, the E. said that he liked not that any man shold be troubled for Religion, That the E. sent Wifeman to his wife w<sup>th</sup> a letter of Complaint into the Countrye, requestinge him alſo to come to London the xx<sup>th</sup> of Januarye accordinge to appointmt. The E. of Essex answered, E. Essex yo<sup>u</sup> p'duce heere Ex. of witnesſes against me, they are in like state as I am, they speake like men desirous to live, they testifie against me. What reward doe they hope for? Lyfe. I wish that w<sup>ch</sup> they speake may purchase that vnto them. ffor I never ment to Endaunger any of theire lives, howſoever I ſpeeđe this daye. it is to me a thinge indifferent. I am not in Love w<sup>th</sup> my Lyfe, nor have bene a longe tyme. I could haue bene contented to haue dyed in my house when I was beſett: But I thancke Allmichtie God, that he hath reserved me to this daye's tryall: But I was driven to this hazard by thoſe that haue the Queene's care and doe abuse it, inforcinge againſte me many vntruthes, w<sup>ch</sup> knowinge I choose rather to hazard her Mate's mercy: then to abide the daungerous courses that shold run againſte me. Beinge demaunded who were thoſe p'fonnes at w<sup>ch</sup> he cheiflye aymed, he anſwered M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie Cecill, the Lo. Cobhm and Sr Walter Raleighe, againſte whom he had iuft cause of exceptons, as wold haue diverted her Mate's favor from them. ffor the matter of his goinge into London, he knewe not

Sr Christ.  
Blunt.

th'interp'r'tacon of the same, but his owne harte he knewe to be cleare of the leaste stayne of disloyaltie to his souaigne. The

*Lo. Cobham.* Lo. Cobham arose and excused himself of any mallice to the E. and p'tested to have onely dislyked his ambitious courses, w<sup>ch</sup>

could not but breed daunger to the State, in w<sup>ch</sup> respe&t he

*Lo. Steward.* ought to hind<sup>r</sup> there growthe. The Lo. Steward cut of[f] his

speeche, affirmyng that the matter alledged by the E. was imp'tinent, and willed them to p'ceede to the Judgm<sup>t</sup> that was

*E. Effex.* in hand. The E. of Effex not w<sup>th</sup>standinge replied that in his opinyon he was not alone, but he was fortified by the opinion of

*Bacon.* honorable p'fons. Then Mr Bacon spake to this effect: I

expected not (q<sup>th</sup> he) that the matter of defence shold have bene alledged for excuse, therefore I must alter my speeche from that

I intended. To Rebell in Defence, is a matter not hard of; in case of Murder, defence is a good Plea, but in this case, to

doe all that was done that daye, and then to goe abowte to blamich it, I cannot allowe: I speake not nowe to simple men,

I speake to them that can drawe p'fe owte of the nature of the things themselves. It is knowne by booke, by experiance and

by common talke, that noe Lawfull intendim<sup>tes</sup> are bent dire&ctlie againste the Prince, but there is a walteringe of gou'm<sup>tes</sup>

(as the phrase is in Scotland). thes goe noe way but by p'ticular Iniuries. My Lors, I cannot resemble yor p'ceedinges

more rightlie then to yt of Pisistratus in Athens, who launched himself to th'intent that by the sighte of bleedinge woundes, the

people might beleve he was fet vpon: Yor Lop. gave owte that yor lyfe was foughte by the Lo. Cobham and Sr Wa. Ra:

and carried allwayes such a shewe of religion in yo<sup>u</sup> that mens eyes were not able throughe suche a myste to behould the

deceipte. But yo<sup>u</sup> imprisonne the Counsell: what reference hath that facte to my Lo. Cobham or the rest. yo<sup>u</sup> alledged the

matter to have resolved vpon on'the foddaine. No, yo<sup>u</sup> weare three monthes in deliberacon. My Lo. descend into yor self,

and strip yo<sup>u</sup> of excuse: the p'ties yo<sup>u</sup> shott att (yf yo<sup>u</sup> could haue rightly vnderstood) were yor best ffreindes. here the E. of

Effex interrupted him and sayde, that the speeche of Mr Bacon, gave him occasion to alledge him selfe against him selfe. ffor (faith he) Mr Bacon beinge a daylie Courtier, and havinge accesse to her Mat<sup>e</sup> vndertooke to goe to the Queene in my behalf, and for that ende drue a letter very artificiallye, w<sup>ch</sup> was subscribed w<sup>th</sup> my name, allso another letter was drawne, to occasion that letter, w<sup>ch</sup> other came from his brother Mr Anthony Bacon, both w<sup>ch</sup> he shold shewe the Queene. Gosnole broughte me both the letters, and in my letter he did pleade for me, as feelingly against those enemyes and pointed them owt as plainlye as was possible. Mr. Bacon. Mr Bacon answered that thes digressions were not fitt, neither wold be suffered, but that the hono<sup>r</sup> and patience of this assemblie was greate: he confessethe [he] had spent more howeres to make him a good f'vante to her Mat<sup>e</sup> then ever he des'ved. for any thinge conteyned in those letters they wold not blushe in the clearest light. But (saithe the E.) lett it be E. Effex. indifferently iudged whether I had cause of greife or not, when I was informed by those of good Credditt, that an honorable, grave, and wife Counsellor did with teares lament the co<sup>f</sup>ses they were takinge, that besides for that I spake in London, that the INFANTA of Spayne was intytled to the succeſſion: I had reason, ffor it was tould me that Mr Secretarye so fayde to one of his fellow Counsellors, that the INFANTA's tytle Compativelie, was as good as any other in the succeſſion. Allſo I fawke ſoe many oppreſſions in the State, yt I was diſirous to ſacrifice my ſelfe in the redrefſe thereof by doinge any thinge that a Loyall ſubie<sup>c</sup>te miſtē to doe them w<sup>th</sup>. Mr. Secretarye beinge preſent beſought Mr. Secreta. the Lo. Steward vpon his knee to give him leave to anſweſe the E. of Effex, w<sup>ch</sup> he ſeemed loathe to doe as not beleevinge what the E. had taxed him w<sup>th</sup>all: and the Peeres made one ſemblance of givinge light credditt thereunto. Mr Secretarye began to this eſſecte. My Lo. ffor witt I give yo<sup>u</sup> the p'eminentie, yo<sup>u</sup> have it abouſtantlie. ffor birthe I give yo<sup>u</sup> place. I am not noble, yet I am a gent: neither am I a ſword man. You haue therefore the oddes of me. Butt I haue inocencye to p'tect me

from yo<sup>r</sup> malicious flander, and I stand here in the p'son of an honest man: yo<sup>u</sup> there in the p'son of a Traytor. Wherefore I do here challenge yo<sup>u</sup> yf yo<sup>u</sup> dare, to name vnto this honorable assambley, that Counsell<sup>r</sup> to whome I shold speake those wordes.

E. Essex.

Mr. Secret:

E. Essex.

Secre:

South:

Secret:

South:

Secret:

replied w<sup>th</sup> a kynde of frowne to be dared, that they all knewe he had not named one man, that daye for an other, neyther wold he. Then (q<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Secret:) it must be beleevered to be a ficcon. No (q<sup>th</sup> the Earle) it is not, for the noble man that standeth by me hard it: and it was told ioyntlie to vs both.

Then M<sup>r</sup> Secretary said to the E. of South: in effecte, as followeth, if it be so then, my Lo. I coniure yo<sup>u</sup> by all the love and frendshipp that hath bene betwixte vs, and as yo<sup>u</sup> are a Christian: by the honor<sup>r</sup> of yo<sup>r</sup> name and howse and whatsoever else yo<sup>u</sup> hold honorable, as I p'test I holde yo<sup>u</sup> severed from him in impudencye, that yo<sup>u</sup> name here the Counsell<sup>r</sup> to whome I shold speake it.

The E. of South: answered, that he referred himself to that honorable Courte, whither it were fytt for hym, in the case he nowe stooode, to name him. I refer me (q<sup>th</sup> he) to yo<sup>r</sup> self Sr, and if you will say vppon yo<sup>r</sup> honor<sup>r</sup> yt it were fitt I did name him, I will. I p'test (q<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Secret:) before you and heaven, that yow should [do] yo<sup>r</sup> Prince and Countrye a most acceptable f'vice, for I were a verie vnworthye man to hold that place I doe in the State if I were to be touched in that forte.

Then the Earle of South: named Sr Willm. Knollés to be the Counsellor to whome he shold so speake. Then (M<sup>r</sup> Secret:) vppon his knee besoughte the Lo. Steward that Sr Willm Knollis might be sent for, w<sup>ch</sup> was graunted. And M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie p'ceeded in an open p'testacon, that he never hated the p'son of the E. but his ymodderate aspiring. That he had told the Queene since my Lo. restreinte at my Lo. Keep<sup>r</sup>, yt he hoped yt this late affliccon wold fitt hym to her Mat<sup>es</sup> service, and did but attend a fitt tyme, to move her Mat<sup>ie</sup> to call him agayne to the Courte. Then the Q. Counsell p'ceeded to the Evidence, obiectinge to the E. of Essex his cold hipocrisie, for as much as havinge in his house contynuall preachinge, he yet was contented

to S<sup>r</sup> Christ. Blunt: to p'mise a tolleracon of Religion. To that the E. answered, y<sup>t</sup> he knewe S<sup>r</sup> Christ. Blunt to be a PAPIST <sup>Essex.</sup> and had often sought his con'ion and (q<sup>th</sup> he) beinge in speeche together aboute those matters, oh (q<sup>th</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Chr. Blunt), my Lo. you are in passion against those of my p'fession: whereunto I answered, did you never knowe y<sup>t</sup> at such tyme as I had power in the State, I was willinge noe man shold be trobled for his conscience. the E. of South: besought leave to speake, and spake to this <sup>south.</sup> effecte. I was ignorant (q<sup>th</sup> he) of the Lawes, therefore mighte easely transgresſ the bondes thereof. The firt and onely motive that [led to] my stirr w<sup>th</sup> my Lo. was my love to my Lord, tyed vnto him both by the bondes of Allegiance and his manifold def'tes towardes me. In respect whereof I was content to indure w<sup>th</sup> him the utmost hazard: for I sawe his caſe verie desp'ate for fav<sup>or</sup> & therefore I consulted w<sup>th</sup> others to steere his paſſage to her Ma<sup>tie</sup>. I p'test before allmighty God for noe other end then to p'strate o<sup>r</sup> felvies at her ffeete, wherein was never mencon made of ſheddinge one drop of blood, And if in this my affection, I have bene transported beyond the Limittes of the Lawe, and that her highenes is displeased therew<sup>th</sup>, I doe in all humblenes crave her p'don and mercye, wherein I will never dispaire. I hope her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, beinge Gode's Leivetenante vpon earthe, will imyitate him in Lookinge to the Earle and not condemne me for that, wherein onely through ignoraunce of her Lawes I have offended. heere M<sup>r</sup> Secre: beinge moved w<sup>th</sup> a deepe touche of <sup>Secret.</sup> ymputacon layde vpon hym by the Lo. of Essex, humbly desired leave to move the Courte, w<sup>ch</sup> graunted, he spake as followeth. S<sup>r</sup> Willm. Knollis (q<sup>th</sup> he) is ſent for. I knowe not by what messenger, neither whether he will come or not. I therefore beſeech yo<sup>r</sup> grace y<sup>t</sup> ſome ſure gent. may be ſent as hath free acces to her Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s p'ſon, and y<sup>t</sup> may p'fent vnto her my humble desire that it wold please her to comaunde him to come, and in my opinion this gent. that ſtandes here, M<sup>r</sup> Knyvett, a gent. of her Ma<sup>tie</sup>'s preivy Chamber, were a verie meeete man. The Lo. Steward, [and] the 7 Peeres conſented. then M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie turned

his speeche to M<sup>r</sup> Knyvett to this effecte. M<sup>r</sup> Knivet goe and deliver faithfullie this messuage to her Ma<sup>tie</sup> & I further coniure you<sup>u</sup> as you<sup>u</sup> are a gent. and do tend<sup>r</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> reputacon, by all or Love and by y<sup>e</sup> dutye yo<sup>u</sup> owe to or Souaigne and Conterye, that you<sup>u</sup> add this further from me to her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, That if either owt of want of care of me, or content to her self, she shall deny to fend him, I doe here vowe vppon my salvacon, that I will never s've her as a Counfello<sup>r</sup> or Secretarie, but will live and dye her subiect and vassaille. I pray you forgett not to deliver it w<sup>th</sup> this p'vifo, that I will dye her vassayle and subiect. Then they p'ceeded againe to the Evidence. And it was demaunded by M<sup>r</sup> Attorney of the Judges to resolve the Courte whether to offer by force to remove anye of her Ma<sup>tie's</sup> Counsell be Treason or not? And it was answered to be treason. Allso, whether for a subiecte to make his passage to the presence of his prince by force vppon her Courte or Counsell were Treason, or not? It was likewise adiudged treason. Then it was vrged by M<sup>r</sup> Attorney, that it was playne, that force was vsed, for foure of the Queene's subiectes were flayne, allso the attempt of the Courte was resolved at Drewry house.

Whereto the E. of South: replied, That the resolucon was not testified by Sr Charles Davers. No (q<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Attorney). But Sr John Davis witnesseth a plain resolucon, wherevppon was redd the examinacon of Sr John Davies, to that effect, and in the rest agreeinge w<sup>th</sup> the others. Then the Lo.

Lo. Admirall Admirall stoode vp and tooke witnesse of the Lo<sup>res</sup> there present that there was noe losse of men till seven of the Clocke, on the Sondaye, at w<sup>ch</sup> tyme they vnder<sup>r</sup>stoode at Courte howe thinges passed at Essex house, And therefore it was not likelye the E. of Essex shold stir vp any such doubte. The E. of Essex w<sup>th</sup> p'testacon

that not to save his owne lyfe, w<sup>ch</sup> he cared not for, but to deliver a trouth, for theire sakes that were ingaged w<sup>th</sup> him, Affirmed againe that he was twice informed of a force levied, and for the matter of force obiected in killinge the Ques<sup>s</sup> subiectes, he p'tested it was much against his mynde. And that the blode of his Counter<sup>r</sup>ye men was verie deare vnto him. Neither (sayd

Attorn.

South.

Sr Jo. Davies  
Exam.

Lo. Admirall

E. Effex.

he) did I ever drawe my fworde, till I was charged at Ludgate, where I was shott twice in the hatt. I was told my Lo. of Cumberland was there. I desired to speake w<sup>th</sup> him and to make my self be vnderstoode of him. And for that end willed the Company that was w<sup>th</sup> me to stay. Then was Sr John <sup>Sr Jo. Lufon.</sup> Lufon deposed, to whome was comitted the charge of Ludgate, that no messuage came to him from the E. after the first shott, w<sup>th</sup> many other circumstances of the E. behavio<sup>r</sup>, of the killinge of the waytes there &c. In this meane while Sr Wm Knollis was <sup>Sr Wm. Knollis.</sup> come. And there in open courte did release M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie of the speeches, and to put the matter quite owte of doubte, he said that there was a sedicous booke sett out, vnder the name of one Dallman, w<sup>ch</sup> very corruptly disputed the tytle of the succession, derivinge it as Lawfull vppon the INFANTA, as any other. And M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie and he beinge in talke aboute that booke, M<sup>r</sup> Secret: spake to this effecte, Is it not a straunge impudency in that Dallman to give equall righte in the succession of England, to the Infanta as to any other. herevppon (q<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Comptroller) was grownded the sclauder of M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie, whereof he is as cleare as any man here p'sent. The Earle of <sup>E. Essex.</sup> Essex replied, that it was tould them in an other fence. noe my Lo. (q<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie) yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. owt of yo<sup>r</sup> mallice to me desires to make me odious, and of yo<sup>r</sup> mallice haue noe other ground, <sup>Secret.</sup> then the breath betwene vs of the peace w<sup>th</sup> Spayne, w<sup>ch</sup> I labored for the good and quyett of my Countrey, as for my affection to advance a Spanyshe tytle to England, I am so far from yt, that I hate to think of it. And I pray god to consume me where I stande, If I doe not hate the Spaniard as much as any man lyvinge. But w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>u</sup> it hath ever bene a MAXIME, to pr'fer warr before peace, in respecte of the consequence to yo<sup>r</sup> followers, and dependers. Divers other speeches passed betweene them, w<sup>ch</sup> I remember not. Then they p'ceeded agayne to the matter, And there were red the Examinacons of the E. of Rutland, Lo. Cromwell and Lo. Sandes. The E. of Rutlandes was <sup>E. of Rutland Ex.</sup> to this effecte That he came to Essex house one the Sonday

morninge and it was then told him that the E. of Essex lyfe was soughte by the Lo. Cobh'm and S<sup>r</sup> Wa. Ra: that the E. of Essex told him that the Cittye stooode for hym, and that Sheriffe Smithe had p'mised to rayse him as many men as he could. That in London the E. of Essex made a speeche to the Townef-men, and in the end thereof told them, that they shold arme them, for that the Kingdome was offered to be sold to the Infanta. And said, they did him harme in comynge forthe naked.

E. Essex.

The E. of Essex interrupted the Clerk of the Crowne, beseechinge the Peeres, to note the weaknes of the E. of Rutlandes tale, who named neither tyme nor place and w<sup>t</sup>hall p'tested that he sent for noe man. Then was alledged, that he

E. Suffex.

wrought for the E. of Sussex vnder p'tence to come and meete w<sup>t</sup>h a number of his ffreindes (as the E. himselfe there p'sent confessed). The E. of Essex answered, that he had a desire to satisfye all the honorable spirites of England (in w<sup>t</sup>h number he tooke his Lop) that the messuage to the Lo. Mayor was either to come or to send to Sheriffe Smithe's, into whose handes they wold put themselves, to be cutt in peeces, if they shold attempt any thinge vnlawfullie. And make me (q<sup>th</sup> he) as wicked as owte of any hum<sup>r</sup> of yo<sup>r</sup> harte yo<sup>u</sup> wold make me, yet yo<sup>u</sup> shall not make me absurd to goe into the Cittye after such a fashion as yo<sup>u</sup> describe yf I had not apprehended an ymminent daunger. Then was farther vrged, that the E. of Rutland had confessed that the E. of Essex was spurred forwards by the E. of South:

E. South.

(who whispered him in the eare) It was also obiecte to the E. of South: by M<sup>r</sup> Attorney that he was a PAPIST: and had had conversation w<sup>t</sup>h Preistes: whereto the E. of South: answered that for the first matter, the E. of Rutland might mistake, affirmynge that he onely wished my Lo. of Essex to goe vp into a chamber: And for the last it was very uniustly vrged, for he tooke vpon his salvacon that he never knewe Preiste, but only one Wright, and w<sup>t</sup> hym he never conversed in all his Lyfe, and yf it could be otherwife p'ved he desired to dye. The Lo. Cromwell's Ex. was he knewe nothinge tyll Sunday morninge,

when seeinge the E. of E. pass by his lodginge in fflete streete, he followed hym into London. he hard the E. of Essex cry for all yo<sup>r</sup> good my maisters, that the Realme shold be foldd &c. Nay my Lo. (q<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Attorney) howsoever you goe aboute to Attorney. cloake matters, and to make a p'tence of an innocentte harte, these Deposicons of men of yo<sup>r</sup> owne companye admytt noe contradiction: And I wonder not at yo<sup>r</sup> denyall, for yo<sup>u</sup> will appeare to be of all religions, one while Papist, an other while a Puritaine, and that but to gayne vnto yo<sup>r</sup> selfe all fortess of people. It will allso be p'ved that yo<sup>u</sup> have practized w<sup>th</sup> Tyrone: To that the E. answered he could not p've it: he defyed all the world for y<sup>t</sup> E. Essex. matter. Yes (q<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Attorney) yo<sup>u</sup> sent Lea to him as he hath Attorney. confessed. The Earle againe denied it, affirminge that it was far E. Essex. from him to trust Lea in such a busines. yes (q<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Attorney) Attur: and it shall appeare, that Lea had direction from you to attempt the Queene, for the w<sup>ch</sup> he was executed as a Traytor the other daye. The E. answered that he never sett him a worke, nor E. Essex. never heard that he was apprehended till M<sup>r</sup> Warburton told it him. And to the former obiection of M<sup>r</sup> Attorneye touchinge his relligion, he p'tested that he never was sectarie, and then excused himself of havinge delte against the Bishops: havinge beene in his younge tyme ledd theretoe by some hott spirittes, w<sup>ch</sup> since are growne to a better temper. And for Papistrie, he doubted not but all the worlde wold cleare him from that ymputa-  
con. The Lo. Sandes his Examinacon was redd to this effecte, Lo. Sandes Ex. vz. that he came to Essex house aboute vi. a clocke in the morninge, And went w<sup>th</sup> the E. of Essex to Sheriffe Smithe's house, and stayde w<sup>th</sup>out till he was sent for in by the Earle. where the E. told him, he wold go backe to his house, for there was a blacke bagg that shold tell noe tayles. wherevpon M<sup>r</sup> Attor- Attur: neye tooke occasion to speake: That yf that black bagge could have bene lighte vpon, there wold haue bene found much good stiffe. ffor (q<sup>th</sup> he) Bothe S<sup>r</sup> John Davies and S<sup>r</sup> Charles Davers doe depose that yo<sup>u</sup> said vnto them that black bagg could tell that yo<sup>u</sup> were betrayed in London. W<sup>ch</sup> allso is witnessed by

Buffell, who was very forward w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>u</sup>. But yo<sup>u</sup> were confident in London, havinge beene p'swaded by yo<sup>r</sup> sycophantes that all the Cittie was of yo<sup>r</sup> p'te and in yo<sup>r</sup> pride and overweeninge of theire p'takinge, yow contemned the Q<sup>ne</sup>'s Royall authoritye, her herraldes wold not be harkened vnto. To this the E. of Effex replied, as for Buffell, he was never inward w<sup>th</sup> him. he was his servante and wayted one hym att his table, and that was all the greatness. And for the herralde, he beleved not that he had authoritye to doe that he did, beinge a man of noted dishonestie, and was burnt in the hand: I never (q<sup>th</sup> the E.) conferred nor attempted any thinge but to th'ende to serve my Countrie and souaigne, by makinge her Mat<sup>ie</sup> vnde'stand vs, w<sup>ch</sup> we cold not doe for the potencye of o<sup>r</sup> enemyes, that were aboute her. And therefore I do laye a charge vppon yo<sup>u</sup> all my Lo. and those that be hearers that notw<sup>th</sup>standinge all Eloquence vfed to make me feeme a Traytor, a Papiste, a Sectarie and an Atheist, and to haue usurped the Crowne, yo<sup>u</sup> will yet witnes w<sup>th</sup> me and so I doubte not but to manifest, by goinge w<sup>th</sup> a courage and cherefully vnto my death, that I dye a good Christian, and never soughte to exceede the degree of a subiecte: howsoever I have bene delte w<sup>th</sup>hall. I euere soughte to appease all humo<sup>r</sup> of revenge, and for confirmacion thereof was resolued to receave the Sacram<sup>t</sup> till the attempt vppon the E. of South. I am far from Atheisme, and doe desire to dye as a Christian and an Earle, that haue faithfullie l'ved my Prince and Countrye, whatsoeuer others have testified, out of the weaknes of theire hartes against me, or to feeme to haue said enoughe I desire it may not lye heavye vppon me. I never thoughte of a p'liamt. Then M<sup>r</sup> Attorney told him that it was not possible but his purpose must be to sett the Crowne vppon his owne heade: ffor (q<sup>th</sup> he) yo<sup>u</sup> drewe manye Earles, Barons and gent: of greate houses into the busines w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>u</sup>. howe shall it be thought yo<sup>u</sup> could haue rewarded them owte of yo<sup>r</sup> maymed estate. The E. answered noe other waye then vppon o<sup>r</sup> knees to her Mat<sup>ie</sup>. Then M<sup>r</sup> Bacon spake to this effect. I doubtethe the varietie of the matter,

Atorn.

E. Effex.

Bacon.

and digressions haue sever'd the Judgm<sup>t</sup> of the Lo: And therefore I hold it necessarie to recyte the Judges opinyons. That done he p'ceeded to this effecte. Nowe put case (q<sup>th</sup> he) the E. of Essex intent were as he wold have it beleevered, to goe as a Sup<sup>lt</sup> to her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, yet shall their peticons be armed peticons, w<sup>th</sup> allwayes p'cede losse of libertie to the Prince. Neither is it a nyce poynt of Lawe (as my Lo. of South: wold have it beleved) that condemnes them of treason. But even Comon fence to Confulte to execute and run together in numbers, in these dobblettes and hose, armed w<sup>th</sup> weapons, what can be the excuse? Warned by the Lo. Keep: by a herald, and yet p'sift, Will any simple man take this for les then Treason? The Earle answered, E. Essex. that if he had purposed any thinge againste any other then those his private enemyes, he wold not have stirred w<sup>th</sup> so slender a Company. Whereto M<sup>r</sup> Bacon answered in this forte, it was not Bacon. the company yo<sup>u</sup> carryed w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>u</sup> that yo<sup>u</sup> trusted vnto but the assistance w<sup>th</sup> you hoped for in the Cittye. The GUISE thurste himselfe into Paris against the Kinge, with onelye a gent., and found that helpe there w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>u</sup> (thanckes be to God) fayled of here. And what followed? The Kinge was put to his Pillgrime's habitt, and in that disguise was forced to escape the furye of the Guise: yo<sup>u</sup> came w<sup>th</sup> fayer pr'tence, w<sup>th</sup> all hayle and a kiffe, to the Cittye, but the ende was treason. And that hath bene sufficiently p'ved. The Earles spake agayne in effect (as The Earles. before) for theirre owne defence, willinge a p'formaunce of the p'mise made them by the Lo. Admyrall, to have an honorable tryall: and civill vsage, in the meane tymie, all w<sup>th</sup> they thanckfullye acknowledged to haue bene p'formed. Then the Lo. Lo. Stew. Steward had the Earles to goe togither, and Comaunded the Leivetenne of the Tower to w<sup>th</sup>drawe his prisoners from the Barr. The Peeres went out, into a place p'vided for them, fayre hanged w<sup>th</sup> Tapistrie, in the place where the Courte of Chauncerie was keepte. And after some half hower's consultacon havinge allso called the Judges into them, to reslove them the poyntes of Lawe, they came forth againe, and tooke there places

as before. Then were they all called. And then the Lo. Steward demaunded of the youngest Lo. first, w<sup>ch</sup> was the Lo. Howard of Wallden: how say yo<sup>u</sup> my Lo. is my Lo. of Essex: ..... [Rest of the page blank and other five pages following.]

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## NOTES.

[On the speciality of the preceding account by an eye and ear witness of this celebrated Trial, see our *Introduction*; also references to others. With respect to Essex himself it will suffice to refer for full details on his brilliant but tragical career to the *Lives of the Devereux*, by Capt. W. B. Devereux (2 vols. 8vo, 1853), and to all the Histories of England of his age. We have collected his Poems in Fuller Worthies' Library, *Miscellanies*, vol. iv. It may interest some to have these memorials of other names that occur in the Narrative. We have arranged the names alphabetically in order that they may be easily found in relation to the places in the Narrative without sprinkling the text with figures of reference thereto.

ANDERSON, SIR EDMUND, knt., was Chief Justice of the Common Pleas from 2nd May 1582 until his death 1st August 1605, about 75 years. He was buried at Eyworth, Bedfordshire.

BACON. The name is sufficient. See Letters onward.

BLOUNT, SIR CHRISTOPHER, was a younger son of James, sixth Lord Mountjoy. He married Letitia, dau. of Sir Francis Knolles, K.G. He was beheaded on Tower Hill 18th March 1600-1.

BROOKE, HENRY, sixth LORD COBHAM, succeeded his father in 1596. He was arraigned, condemned and attainted in 1604 for high treason in connection with Raleigh. He died in imprisonment 24th January 1618-19. He married Frances, dau. of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, but left no issue.

BRUGES, WILLIAM (or Brydges), fourth Lord Chandos, succeeded his brother Giles 21st February 1593-4. He married Margaret, dau. of Sir Owen Hopton, knt., Lieutenant of the Tower, and died 18th November 1602.

CAREY, GEORGE, second Lord Hunsdon, succeeded his father 23rd July 1596. He was Captain of the Band of Pensioners, Lord Chamberlain and a Knight of the Garter. He died 9th September 1603 without male issue, and was succeeded by his brother John.

CECIL, SIR ROBERT, was Secretary from 1596 to the end of Elizabeth's reign, and was re-appointed by K. James I.

CECIL, THOMAS, second Lord Burghley, succeeded his father 4th August 1598, and was created Earl of Exeter 4th May 1605. He married twice, and died in 1622.

CLARKE, SIR ROBERT, became a Baron of the Exchequer in June 1587 until his death 1st January 1606-7. He was buried at Good Estre, co. Essex.

CLIFFORD, GEORGE, third EARL OF CUMBERLAND, succeeded his father 8th January 1569, and died 30th October 1605, in his 48th year, without male issue. One of his daughters was the renowned Anne, Countess of Dorset and Pembroke.

CLINTON, HENRY, second Earl of Lincoln, succeeded his father 16th January 1584-5. He died in 1616; ancestor of the present Duke of Newcastle.

COKE, SIR EDWARD, became Attorney-General 10th April 1594. His life belongs to our History at its greatest. He died 3rd September 1633 in his 82nd year. The Narrative shows him at his worst.

COMPTON, WILLIAM, son and heir of Henry Compton (who died in 1589), was summoned to Parliament in 1593, and was created Earl of Northampton 2nd August 1618. He died in 1630.

DANVERS, SIR CHARLES, was eldest son of Sir John Danvers, knt., of Dauntesey, Wilts., by Elizabeth, dau. of John Nevil, last Lord Latimer of that surname. He was beheaded on Tower Hill 18th March 1600-1.

DARCY, THOMAS, third LORD DARCY, of Chiche, succeeded his father in 1580, and was created VISCOUNT COLCHESTER 5th July 1621, and Earl of Rivers 4th November 1626. He died in 1639.

DE VERE, EDWARD, seventeenth Earl of Oxford and Great Chamberlain. He had a command in the fleet that opposed the Armada in 1588. He married first Anne, dau. of the Lord Treasurer Burghley, and secondly Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas Trentham, esq. He died in

1604 at an advanced age. The present Editor has collected his Poems in his Fuller Worthies' Library, *Miscellanies*, vol. iv.

FENNER, SIR EDWARD, became a Judge of the King's Bench 26th May 1590, died 23rd January 1611-12, and was buried at Hayes, co. Middlesex. He was son of John Fenner, of Crawley, co. Surrey.

FLEMING, SIR THOMAS, knt., son of John Fleming, of Newport, Isle of Wight, where he was born in 1544. He was Solicitor-General in 1595, and became Chief Baron of the Exchequer 27th October 1604, and Chief Justice of England 25th June 1607. He died suddenly at Stoneham Park 7th August 1613, and was buried in the Parish Church there. He married Dorothy, dau. of Sir Henry Cromwell, an aunt of Oliver, the Protector.

GAWDY, SIR FRANCIS, was made a Judge of the Queen's Bench 25th November 1588, and a frequent Commissioner on the criminal trials of the period. He became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas 26th August 1605, and died in 1606; buried at Rungton, Norfolk.

GREY, THOMAS, fifteenth LORD GREY of Wilton, succeeded his father in 1593. He was involved in what was called the Raleigh Conspiracy, and was tried with Lord Cobham in 1603. He died in the Tower 6th July 1614.

HARRIS and HEALE, Sergeants — do not appear to have risen to any higher legal dignity.

HOWARD, CHARLES, second BARON HOWARD, of Effingham, Lord High Admiral, is "immortal" by his defeat of the Spanish Armada. He was created Earl of Nottingham 22nd October 1596. He died 14th December 1624, aged 88.

HOWARD, LORD THOMAS. Probably same as Viscount Bindon. He was second son of Thomas, first Viscount Howard, of Bindon, by his first wife, Elizabeth, dau. and coheir of John, Lord Marney. He succeeded his elder brother Henry as third Viscount in 1590, and died in 1610 without issue, and the title became extinct.

HOWARD, THOMAS, younger son of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, was summoned to Parliament 24th October 1597 as Thomas Howard of Walden. He was created Earl of Suffolk 21st July 1603, and died in 1626.

KINGSMILL, SIR GEORGE, became a Judge of the Common Pleas

8th February 1599. He resigned in 1605, and died in April 1606. He was second son of Sir John Kingsmill, of Sidmanton, Hants.

LUMLEY, JOHN, created Baron Lumley by Act of Parliament in 1547 (his predecessor having been attainted), was also one of the peers who sat in judgment on Mary, queen of Scots. He left no surviving issue. He died 11th April 1609, at a great age.

MANNERS, ROGER, fifth EARL OF RUTLAND, succeeded his father in 1588. He married Elizabeth, dau. and heir of Sir Philip Sidney, but died without issue in 1612.

PARKER, EDWARD, tenth LORD MORLEY, succeeded his father in 1581. He was one of the peers who sat in judgment on Mary, queen of Scots, and the Earl of Arundell, as well as Essex. He died in 1618.

PERYAM, SIR WILLIAM, knt., was Chief Baron of the Exchequer from 13th April 1593 until his death on the 9th October 1604. He was a native of Exeter and eldest son of John Peryam, twice Mayor of that city. He was a Judge of the Common Pleas 13th February 1580-1.

PEYTON, SIR JOHN, knt., of Doddington, co. Cambridge, was second son of Sir John Peyton, knt., of Knowlton, co. Kent, by Dorothy, dau. of Sir John Tindall, K.B. He was Lieutenant of the Tower, and as such had the custody of the present as of all State prisoners therein. He was a Privy Councillor; also Governor of Jersey and Guernsey *temp. James I.* He lived until 1631, and is stated to have reached the age of 99 years.

POPHAM, SIR JOHN, knt., was Lord Chief Justice of England from 2nd June 1592 until his death. He died 10th June 1607, aged 76 years, and was buried at Wellington in Somersetshire.

RATCLIFFE, ROBERT, sixth Lord Fitzwalter and fifth Earl of Sussex, succeeded his father 18th April 1593. He was with the Earl of Essex at the sacking of Cadiz. He died in 1629 without surviving issue.

RICH, ROBERT, third Lord Rich, succeeded his father in 1581, and was advanced to the earldom of Warwick 6th August 1618. He was at the sacking of Cadiz, under the Earl of Essex, whose sister, Penelope, was his first wife, but from whom he was divorced. He died the same year in which he became Earl of Warwick.

SACKVILLE, THOMAS (son of Sir Richard Sackville, knt., by Winefred, dau. of Sir John Bruges, Lord Mayor of London), was created BARON

BUCKHURST 8th June 1567, appointed Lord High Treasurer of England 1599, and raised to the earldom of Dorset 13th March 1603-4. As he advanced in the State he did not seem to care for any remembrance of his Poetry; but to it alone owes his imperishable name. He died suddenly at the Council table at Whitehall, 19th April 1608.

SANDYS, WILLIAM, third BARON SANDYS, of the Vine, succeeded his grandfather and was summoned to Parliament in 1572. For his connection with the Earl of Essex he suffered imprisonment, but was not attainted. He died in 1623.

SEYMOUR, EDWARD, son of Edward, Duke of Somerset (the Protector) by his second wife, Anne, dau. of Sir Edward Stanhope, was created Earl of Hertford 13th January 1559. He was twice married, and died at an advanced age in 1621.

SOMERSET, EDWARD, fourth EARL OF WORCESTER, succeeded his father in 1589. He married Elizabeth, dau. of Francis, Earl of Huntingdon, and died 3rd March 1627-8; ancestor of the present Duke of Beaufort.

ST. JOHN, OLIVER, third Lord St. John, of Bletshoe, succeeded his brother John in 1596, and died in 1618. He was father of the first Earl of Bolingbroke.

STAFFORD, EDWARD, third BARON STAFFORD (of the new creation), succeeded his brother Henry 8th April 1566. He married Mary, dau. of Edward, Earl of Derby, and died 18th October 1603. The barony became extinct about 1640.

STANLEY, WILLIAM, sixth Earl of Derby, succeeded his brother Ferdinando 16th April 1594, and on the 26th June following married the lady Elizabeth de Vere, eldest dau. of Edward, seventeenth Earl of Oxford. He died in 1642.

TALEBOT, GILBERT, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, succeeded his father in 1590. He married Mary, dau. of Sir William Cavendish, of Chatsworth, knt., and died 8th May 1616, leaving surviving issue only three daughters.

WALMSLEY, SIR THOMAS, was a Judge of the Common Pleas from 10th May 1589, until his death 26th November 1612. He was eldest son of Thomas Walmsley, of Sholley, co. Lancaster, by his wife Margaret Livesay, and born about 1537. He was buried at Blackburn,

Lancashire, but his monument was destroyed by the parliamentary soldiers in 1642.

WEST, THOMAS, second LORD DE LA WARR, succeeded his father 30th December 1595. He married Anne, dau. of Sir Francis Knolles, and died in 1602.

WINDSOR, HENRY, fifth LORD WINDSOR, succeeded his brother Frederick 24th December 1585. He died 6th April 1605. He was ancestor of the late Earls of Plymouth. The earldom expired on the death of Henry, eighth Earl, 8th December 1843.

WRIOTHESLEY, HENRY, third EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON, was son of Henry, second Earl, by Mary, dau. of Anthony Browne, Viscount Montagu. He succeeded to the title in 1581. As told in the Narrative he was tried, condemned and attainted for high treason; but his life was spared. On the accession of K. James I. he was released from prison, restored in blood by Act of Parliament, and had a new patent as Earl of Southampton. He "lives" in Shakespere. He died in 1624.

VELVERTON, SIR CHRISTOPHER, was elected Speaker of the Parliament of October 1597, and became Queen's Sergeant shortly after its dissolution in 1598. In 1602 he became a Judge of the King's Bench. He died in November 1612 at Easton Mauduit, Northamptonshire.

Be it noted with reference to the use of "Prince" for Elizabeth, that it was constantly used as a noun of common gender (page 5, line 6); also that "one" is the frequent spelling of "on"; and that Sup<sup>lt</sup> is = Suppliant (page 23, line 5). G.]

42 Elizabeth: 19 Novembris 1599.  
*In Camera Stellata.*

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THE Lo. Keeper exhorted all Justices and gent. to repaire into the Countrie for hospitalitie and said that it had bene often comaunded from her mat<sup>e</sup>, but not obeyed. he said he had further in charge from her Mat<sup>e</sup> to admonishe them to haue care of the service of god and religion in theire Countries, w<sup>ch</sup> nowe was growe colde, by defaulte whereof her Mat<sup>e</sup>'s subiectes growne in many places disobediente, and in Ireland especiallie disloyall & rebellious, whereby they spared not there &.here at home to speake seditiously and trayterously of the Counsell & magistrates yea of theire prince, not remembryng that Counsell w<sup>ch</sup> Moyfes gave, Principi populi in colore tuo ne maledicas, but rather like Shemey cursinge David to his face. from whence it comes that so many politique discoursers take vpon them to censure the actions of Princes and to set downe formes of gouerementes for Comon Wealthes, and many at Ordinarye tables that have not a shillinge to paye for theire Ordinarie, wilbe censuringe of Princes assayres. Nay very seditiously they haue cast abroade, Libells in divers places of the Cittye, and allsoe in the Courte, whereby it appearethe howe malitiousflye they stande affected to her Mat<sup>e</sup> and her p'ceedinges, w<sup>ch</sup> as they haue allwayes bene moste honorable and Princelie, so hathe she bene in nothinge more honorable then in her mercie, thoughe such lewde affected Subiectes deserve it not. Thes theire practises, as they are flandrous to the present gou'nemt and lay

an imputacon of weakenes in her Mat<sup>ie</sup> and her Counsell, soe are they seditious and traytous in stirringe vp y<sup>e</sup> Q. subiectes to a myflyke of this p<sup>r</sup>sent gou<sup>r</sup>m<sup>t</sup>. And thinges the statute of 25. E. 3. de prodigionibus extend not to[o] farre fuche traiterous offences in p<sup>t</sup>icular, yet the Comon Lawe before the Statute makes it Treason. But to come to the matter in hand, It is not vnknownen vnto you what a princelie care her mat<sup>ie</sup> hathe allwayes had to quiett and settle the gou<sup>m</sup>t of that fame torne Kingdome of Ireland, and att what infinite charges, her mat<sup>ie</sup> hathe bene, to reduce them to her obedience, insomuche that latelye she employed great forces for the effectinge thereof. It cannot be remembred that ever there wente a more puyffant armye, w<sup>th</sup> better p<sup>'</sup>vision of victuall, Armor and municon, neither was there ever any Subiecte under his Prince, noe not the kinges Sonne him selfe, that ever had a larger Comission then he that was employed in this accon. But what became of yt? the Queene's bountye was abused, the moneye spente, the armor loste and spoyled, the foldiers wasted, the prince impouished & reacon dishono<sup>r</sup>ed, the enemye made stronger by our weakenes, and nowe insolente by o<sup>r</sup> erro<sup>res</sup> and ou<sup>'</sup>fights, and we haue lost that w<sup>ch</sup> cannot be regayned, The opportunitie of tyme. vpon the first vnder'takinge of thes Irishe services, diverse Counsell were helde and all that had experience of thes countrics were consulted w<sup>th</sup>hall, and her most gracous Mat<sup>ie</sup> pleased to grace o<sup>r</sup> Counsell w<sup>th</sup> her p<sup>r</sup>fence, where it was p<sup>'</sup>vided, bothe what force wold serve for the purpose and what service was first to be vndertaken: It was concluded that there was noe other Course to be taken but first to encount<sup>r</sup> TYRONE and cut the tree at y<sup>e</sup> roote and the braunches wold fall of, but contrary to this direction, the govern<sup>r</sup> vnd<sup>r</sup>tooke other f'vices & therein spente all the sommer, till it was to[o] late to attempt TYRONE. Who vpon conference w<sup>th</sup> o<sup>r</sup> gen<sup>a</sup>ll, could obiect vnto hym or weakenes, and how able he was to cut of o<sup>r</sup> forces and to intercept o<sup>r</sup> victuall, and spared not to make vauntes of his owne strengthe, wherein the GENERALL was greatly overseene, to conferr

privateliē w<sup>th</sup> such a Rebell, no man beinge by. Vppon w<sup>ch</sup> conference the Rebell p'pounded the most dishonorable condicons that ever were offered to bereave her mat<sup>ie</sup> of the authoritye and p'rogative of a Prince, and indeed to disqueene her. hee to make Lawes, establishe Religion and to governe them as he listed, so that in effe<sup>c</sup>t he wold be Kinge & she Quene should but beare the name *more precario*, but not *Re et facto*. After w<sup>ch</sup> conference when there was neede to have stayed, to establishe the governmt, the Generall & thos that had charges came over, w<sup>ch</sup> could not be but to the greate daunger of that Kingdome. Soe that layinge the faulfe where it is, the Queene's most excellent mat<sup>ie</sup>, can not but be excused, for beinge any way the cause of thes disasterous eventes, who desireth noe longer to raigne, no not to live, then to seek the good of her Countrye.

After the Lo. Treasurer had began to speake, the Lo. Keep: interupted him, excusinge him selfe by want of memorye & the foddaine warninge to speake, and told them that he had forgott to lett them knowe, howe that since the Generall's cominge over TYRONE was owte againe and at worse tearmes then ever. The LO. TREASURER devided his speeche in these partes, p'vision, Municon, Prosecution and execution. touchinge the p'vision he said that her Mat<sup>ie</sup> delt most honorablie w<sup>th</sup> the Earle of Essex, whereas he was indebted 8000l<sup>i</sup> to her mat<sup>ie</sup> she forgave him the debte, and over and above gave him sixtene thousand poundes. she yelded besides to all his demaundes, for at firste he demaunded but 12 thousand foote and 1000 horse, after he had added to the foote 1000 more and to the horse 300, so that his forces of Eng- glishe beside voluntarye gent. and all the Iryshe noblemen, gent. and others, were 17 thousand and odd. besides at his goinge, he had 3 monethes pay aforehands, w<sup>ch</sup> came to one and fifty thousand poundes, and allwayes had 3 monethes pay in hand, and whereas he lay from the middest of marche till the end of April, at Chester for wynde, the Queene bare his charges all the while. beside he had allowance for 21 thousand coates for Soldyres, his horsmen 300, taken vp of the charge of the Coun-

trye, the rest at her Mat<sup>ie</sup>'s charge. ffor the p'vision of his victualls there were victulers of London that carryed victualles from London thither everye monthe, And whereas some reporte that the victualles sometyme came shorte and were spoyled, and corrupted, before they came there, y<sup>t</sup> was either by reason of the wynde or by meanes of the mariners negligence that tooke noe better care of y<sup>t</sup>, and not to be imputed to her Mat<sup>ie</sup>. Secondlye, to inquire the Mvnition, he had y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> was never sene in Ireland before, 12 greate peeces for Batterie and one hundred last of powder, w<sup>ch</sup> was a most princely p'portion of munition. Touchinge the p'secution, Whereas he was advised by the Counsell here to attempt TYRONE firste, he quite contrarye, w<sup>th</sup>out the consent of the counsell here, or the Counsell of Irelane, spent his tyme and his forces vpon the p'vence of Munster and Auphalia to noe purpose, where noe greate matter was effected, and in meane tyme Tyrone tooke his plesures and lived secure. Touchinge Execution, when the Generall came to Tyrone he conferred vpon such tearmes as were greatlye to the disadvantage of the Queene and dishono<sup>r</sup> of o<sup>r</sup> Nacon, and by thes sinister courses, the f'rvice had not the good effect that was expected. wherevpon divers ill affected Subiectes seditiously gave it forthe that this service miscarried by some defaulte in her Mat<sup>ie</sup> and her Counsell here at home, for want of supply of men, money or victuall, all w<sup>ch</sup> is vntrue as appereth by the princely p'vision before rehearsed. And he affirmed ther that since the E. of Essex goinge over into Ireland, it had cost her mat<sup>ie</sup> three hundred thousand poundes one way or other. And further he said, albeit other Princes yea the K. of SPAYNE, the greatest Prince of Christendome, dothe divers tymes owe more to his soldyers and his garrisonnes then he is able to pay for the p'sente, yet her mat<sup>ie</sup> out of her princelie mynde, made suche p'vision y<sup>t</sup> nothinge was wanting for so greate an enterprise, yet the worste sorte of subiectes are not satisfyed, but seditiously flynge abroad Lybells w<sup>ch</sup> of other things is the most damnable and p'nicious thinge in the Comon Wealth : Against a blowe a man may have a Targett

and agaynst a shott an Armo<sup>r</sup> of prooфе, but against a flaunder and secret reproche there is noe defence but patience and to leave the Revenge to God. The Lo. Admyrall sayd that the matter had bene so fullye debated of before, that he coulde add little to that w<sup>ch</sup> was allreadye sayde, yet his place and office required him to faye somethinge. And this he coulde affirme vpon his owne knowledge, that when these Irishe assayres for the E. of Effex, his imploym<sup>t</sup> there, was firſte in Question, it was his owne demaunde to have ſoe many men, v.z. 12 thouſande foote, and 1000 horſe, and w<sup>th</sup> theſe he wold make the earth tremble. well he had them, naye he had added vnto them 1000 more, besides the Remnant of the Englishe Soldyers in Ireland, and all the Irishe forces that ſtoode well affected to her Ma<sup>tie</sup> and all thoſe appointed (as you have hard of) in as princelye manner as ever was harde of, and yet Ireland standeth ſtill, nay standeth in worse tearmes then ever it did, for whenas he was directed to goe firſte to Tyrone, he went an other contrary course to Munſter and Auphalia, w<sup>ch</sup> course, though ſome Iryſhe gent. and Soldiers, called before the counſell, aduifed for there owne p'ticular good, to have thoſe p'tes firſte quyettet, where there Lyvinges did lye, yet in true Judgem<sup>t</sup> and weight of reaſon, all concluded that Tyrone was firſte to be attempted, in reſpecte that Maguere O'donell, and the other Rebells of the North depended vpon him and weare moſt daungerous. he ſaid when he firſte hard of the Earle's diſpatch for Munſter, he thought that the E. of Ormond had drawne him to that ſervice by his p'fwafions, and did thincke him worthye of greate blame at her ma<sup>ties</sup> handes. But afterwardes it appeared by advertisem<sup>t</sup> out of Ireland, that it was not ſo, but that the E. of Effex did vnd<sup>er</sup>take the ſervice and forveye[?] of hiſ owne heade, w<sup>th</sup> owte any advise of the Counſell of Ireland, and ſo all the Counſell of Ireland have certiſed vnder their handes to her Ma<sup>tie</sup>.

An other thinge I am able to ſpeake p'haps better then others, bicaufe it is w<sup>th</sup>in the Compas of my office, that when the E. of Effex went thither firſt, his request was to have ſome of the Q.

shippes to attend vpon the Irysh Seas, vpon the Northerne p'tes, p'tendinge that he ment to assayle thos Northerne p'tes, by Land and Sea att one instant. Wherevpon he had 5 of the Q. Shippes, and 4 other stonge shippes furnished at the greate charge of the Queene and there they stayed all the while, to the infinite charge of her Mat<sup>e</sup>, and nothinge attempted w<sup>th</sup> them nor so much as purposed to be attempted (as appeareth by the course held there). much he infisted (as they did all) vpon the harde constructions w<sup>th</sup> divers made of thes services. for Layinge an Imputacon and scandall vpon her Mat<sup>e</sup> and her counsell. And soe w<sup>th</sup> a sharpe reprehencion to Libellers w<sup>th</sup> specous and secreat flanderors he concluded. But after he had done, and my Lo. CHAMBERLAYN was p<sup>r</sup>paringe himselfe to speake, he stipted vp agayne and w<sup>th</sup> some vehemencye of speeche, swore by God, that yf 16 Thousand Englishe soldiers soe appointed as they weare, were landed in Spayne, they mighte goe throughe all Spayne, and thrust the kinge owte of his kingdome.

Lo. CHAMBERLAYNE, Lo. NORTH and M<sup>r</sup> Comptroller, spake so softlye that I could not well heare them, but it seemed by that little I hard, they all blamed the raysers of these reportes, accquittinge her Mat<sup>e</sup>.

M<sup>r</sup> Secretarie said though he coulde be content to be sylent yet two thinges did principally move him to speake, ffirste bicause he had intelligence by reason of his place, and did sometymes advise in thes affayres, Secondlye thes matters concerninge the hono<sup>r</sup> of her Mat<sup>e</sup>, he was bounde in a strieter obligacon of love and dutie then others towards her, in respect that her Mat<sup>e</sup> p<sup>r</sup>ferred him, the weakest of others, and the les his desartes were y<sup>e</sup> greater oughte to be his obligacon of dutye. he p<sup>t</sup>ested he wold speake that he meante to saye, owte of a Charitable mynde, and desired that a Charitable construction mighte be made of his wordes. Touchinge the sclaudres and Libells he sayd that he was of opinion, that noe gent. nor Soldyer, nor Lawier, or Scholler, wold haue soe vile a conceipe in his heade, but it was the rascall scumm of the people. And

whereas it is muttered that there is noe reckoninge, noe accompte made of soldyers, he p'tested he thoughte the p'fession honorable and themselves verie well deservinge of the Comon Wealth. But some obiecte if there be peace w<sup>th</sup> Spayne, there will be noe employm<sup>t</sup> for soldiers, but we will vse them as we vse o<sup>r</sup> horses, when we haue noe vse for them, to torne them to grasse. Noe her Mat<sup>ie</sup> hath a most hono<sup>r</sup>able and princely care of them, that they may be p'vided for. she desired he mighte be excused if he layde af'psions vpon some, for the necessitie of the cause in Question enforced him. Wherein he inveighed againste the Cowardice of Harrington, that was put to a shamefull flighte by the sonne of a Mountayne Kerne Teffmakewe, w<sup>th</sup>in twelve myles of Dublyn, and againste the shamefull flighte of o<sup>r</sup> soldyers at the CURLEWES, where the hono<sup>r</sup>able gent. S<sup>r</sup> Conyas Clyfford dyed, at w<sup>ch</sup> service 2000 souldiers, were put to flighte by 600 Irishe Rebels. So monstrosous dishono<sup>r</sup> to this nacon as ever hapened. Owte of the opynion of this Cowardize of o<sup>rs</sup> and owte of slacknes in the late p'ceedinges, there is such a pride and confidence of his owne greatnes put into Tyrone the Rebell, that he thinketh of the forme of a black smithe to be kinge of Ireland forsooth, and in Tytles allreddye exaltethe him self above all the Geraldines, where in deede there is as greate oddes betweene them and him, as between a p'ishe Preiste and the greatest Prelate of the Lande, or betweene me and my far inferio<sup>r</sup>. To suppresse this pride of his it was thought fitt to send out a puissant Army, w<sup>th</sup> such p'vision of all thinges as before hathe bene menconed. And this he did affirme, that Ireland at the E. of Essex goinge over, hath cost her Mat<sup>ie</sup> 300 thousand poundes: as before it was alledged. Add then vnto this the infinyte charge the Queene hath bene att in settlinge the ffrench kinge, in the kingdome of ffraunce. And in defendinge the Lowe Countryes from the Spanyard, insomuch that since eightye eighte there hath bene spent 33 Thousand Poundes, besides thes charges in Ireland. soe that her Mat<sup>ies</sup> treasure is not stolne from her as some p'happs suppose. ffurther the pride of this insolent Rebbell

is to be noted in his Condicons and Articles w<sup>th</sup> he p'pounded viz. to haue Papistry to be iterated, not only through his owne Countrye but thorough all Ireland: wherein is to be obserued the subtil flightes of this olde Rebell in makinge the ignorant wretches of the Countrye belive, he goeth aboute to p'cure theire lib'tie, when indeede he getteth noe more of them then they haue allreddye. ffor her gracous Ma<sup>tie</sup> herein dealethe bothe politiquie and mercifuly. for the lawes of this land made againste Jesuites, Seminary priestes and other papistes extend not to Ireland, for heare the gospell is preached and therefore sup'stition amongst vs more odious, and nearer to her Ma<sup>tes</sup> p'son, and therefore more daungerous: but in thes remote p'tes of Ireland where they seldome heare the gospell preached, her Ma<sup>tie</sup> hath delte more myldlie w<sup>th</sup> them then to extend her lawes againste them that have not those good meanes to conforme themselves: But some will saye, that the Queene mighte haue Rooted out the whole Nacon by this tyme. So hath the Spanyard done in the Indyes, but her Ma<sup>tie</sup> is more mercifull, for they must haue some place to live in. It hath bene said that Ulster of it self hath yelded to the kinges of this Land, an hundred thousand pound by the yeare, w<sup>th</sup> is most vntrue, but is moſte certaine that her Ma<sup>tie</sup> for her tyme did never receave above 13 thousand poundes, and of that there is good p'fe it falleth owt nowe otherwise, that it putteth her Ma<sup>tie</sup> to a moſt excessive charge. Where besides the diſaster of our ſuccesſes many thinges redowne, both to the diſgrace and daunger of this Nacon: Notwthſtandinge all theſe greate forces and Charges, the Rebell is broughte to noe better tearmes then heretofore, by the E. Ormound, S<sup>r</sup> John Norrice, and S<sup>r</sup> Rich. Bingham. But if the E. of Effex had at the firſte incountered Tyrone (as at the firſt before his goinge into Ireland it was his owne eleſtion and offer to the Counſell) it is not to be doubted but ſome other effecte of all theſe ſervices might haue bene hoped for. But to omitt thinges allreddy ſpoken of, and to come to that w<sup>th</sup> is moſt p'r to the place w<sup>th</sup> I beare (thoughe vnworthie) it is fitt to anſwere ſome obiections touchinge the

Comission of the E. of Essex, w<sup>th</sup> some haue taken to be so large and so muche scope therein lefte to give him libertye for Cominge over, that diverse thinkē it hard measure offered to him to have that obiectēd against him, that was thereby p'mitted hym to doe. It is true that her Mat<sup>ie</sup> did deale most princely w<sup>th</sup> him in his Comission: makinge it more liberall and Large then any hath bene heretofore, and althoughe Princes be not bound to render an account to theire subiectes of theire accōns & p<sup>r</sup>poses, yet bicause her Mat<sup>ie</sup> is desirous to give satisfacon to the worlde of her most iust and hono<sup>r</sup>able p'ceedinges in this Cāse, you shall knowe that when her mat<sup>ie</sup> vnderstood in what def'pate tearmes the Country of Ireland did stand, she dispatched her l'res to him w<sup>ch</sup> were to this effe<sup>c</sup>tē vz. seinge y<sup>t</sup> Country of Ireland is so rent and devide<sup>n</sup>, and theire standinge at such hard tearmes as they doe, it is fytt that yo<sup>u</sup> shold give strength and securitye to the Countrye by yo<sup>r</sup> p'sence, wherefore albeit at other tymes, wee have bene pleased to give more libertie for yo<sup>r</sup> speedie retorne, yet nowe vpon further deliberacon had, we comaund yo<sup>u</sup> vpon yo<sup>r</sup> dutye and allegiaunce, not to come from them, vntill yo<sup>u</sup> heare further from vs. This was her Mat<sup>ies</sup> will to doe, by the necessi<sup>t</sup>e of the affayres there. But I knowe it and I speake it confidentlye, that yf he had stayed but 16 dayes longer, he had had license from her Mat<sup>ie</sup> to come over. And heere now I answere another obiectiōn that was made. It is given forth by diverse y<sup>t</sup> the E. of Essex, his restraynte here, is the cause that Tyrone is gone owte agayne. to this I answere that it cannot possiblie be. ffor the E. of Essex came to the Courte vpon the xxvij<sup>th</sup> daye of September, beinge Michalmas eve, and vpon Michallmas daye, beinge the xxix<sup>th</sup> of the same month, Tyrone havinge speeche w<sup>th</sup> WARREN y<sup>t</sup> before it were longe, he wold haue a share in Ingland, and they shold see him there, little to there comfortes. so that this beinge spoken, the next daye, it can not be p'fumed that he had newes from hence, vnles by the winges of Angells: And w<sup>th</sup>in a little while after in diverse of there churches by comaundm<sup>t</sup> from Tyrone, Massē was said. so

that not his refraynte heere, but his dep'ture from thence, and havinge the Countrye so vnprovided of gou'no<sup>rs</sup> was the occasion of thes disasters, w<sup>ch</sup> have happened since his Cominge over.  
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## NOTES.

[For notice of preceding Narrative as elsewhere given, see our *Introduction*. As before, these memorials of names that occur may be acceptable; and on ROBERT, Earl of Essex, the chief object of attack in this Star-Chamber Council, consult the *Lives of the Devereux*, as before.

Buckhurst, Lord High Treasurer, and Oxford, Lord Great Chamberlain, see Notes to Trial of Essex.

EGERTON, SIR THOMAS, knt., became Lord Keeper 6th May 1596, and continued such till near his death. He was created Lord ELLES-MERE 19th July 1603, and Viscount Brackley 7th November 1616. He died 15th March 1616-17, having resigned the Great Seal about a fortnight before. He was buried in Doddleston, Cheshire.

O'NEILL, HUGH, Earl of Tyrone, which title was confirmed to him by charter 10th May 1587, but which he discarded when he threw off his allegiance to Elizabeth, and styled himself "the O'Neill." After numerous successes against the Queen's armies, he was overpowered in 1603, and finally fled to the Continent. He died at Rome, blind and old, 20th July 1616, and was buried in the Church of San Pietro Montorio.

NORTH, SIR ROGER, second BARON NORTH. He was an Ambassador and Treasurer of the Household to Q. Elizabeth; ancestor of the Earls of Guilford. He died 3rd December 1600. Other names already noticed.

Note that *supra* (page 37, line 25), the "disaster of our successes" is = defeat of anticipated successes. G.]

*My Lo. Keeper to ye Earle Marshall.*

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MY good Lo. it is often feene that he that standeth by feethe more then he that plaieth the game, and so for the most p'te evrie one in his owne cause standeth in his owne light and seethe not so clearlie as he shoulde : Yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. hath dealte in other mens causes and in greate and weightie affaers w<sup>th</sup> greate wisedome and Judgmet<sup>t</sup>. nowe yo<sup>w</sup> owne is in hand, yo<sup>w</sup> are not to contrarie or refuse the advise of those that love yo<sup>w</sup> (howe simple soever) In this order I range my selfe amongst others that love yo<sup>w</sup>, none more simplie and none that loveth yo<sup>w</sup> w<sup>th</sup> more true and honest affection ; w<sup>th</sup> shall pleade my excuse if yo<sup>w</sup> shold either misflyke or misconsturte my wordes or meaninge. But in yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. honorable wisedome I neither doubtē the one nor suspekte the other. I will not p'sume to advise yo<sup>w</sup> but I shoothe my bowlte and tell yo<sup>u</sup> what I thinke. The begininge and continuance of this vnseasonable discontentment yo<sup>w</sup> haue feene and p'ved, by w<sup>ch</sup> yo<sup>w</sup> may ayme at the ende yf yo<sup>w</sup> hold still this course, w<sup>ch</sup> hitherto yo<sup>w</sup> finde worse and worse and the longer yo<sup>w</sup> goe the further owte of the waye : there is little hope or likelihoode that the ende wilbe better. yo<sup>w</sup> are not yet gone soe farr but yo<sup>w</sup> may well retorne : the retorne is safe, the p'gressie daungerous and desp'ate : In this co're yo<sup>w</sup> holde if yo<sup>w</sup> haue any enemyes yo<sup>w</sup> doe that for them that they cannot doe for themselves. Yo<sup>r</sup> ffreindes yo<sup>w</sup> leave open to skorne and contempt & yo<sup>w</sup> forsake yo<sup>r</sup> selfe and overthrowe yo<sup>r</sup> fortunes and ruinate yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> and reputacon : Yo<sup>w</sup> give that confortē and incōragem<sup>t</sup> to

the forraine enemye as greater they cannot have. for what can be more welcome and pleasinge newes to them then to heare that her Ma<sup>tie</sup> is maymed of foe worthy a member, whoe hathe foe often and so valiantlye quelled and daunted them. Yow forfake yo<sup>r</sup> countrye when it hathe most neede of yo<sup>r</sup> Counsell and helpe and lastelye yo<sup>w</sup> fayle of yo<sup>r</sup> most indissoluble duty w<sup>ch</sup> yo<sup>w</sup> owe vnto yo<sup>r</sup> most gracous souvaraigne a duty not imposed vppon yo<sup>w</sup> by nature and pollicy onely but by the Religious and sacred bond wherein the Ma<sup>tie</sup> of th'allmightye, hath by the rule of Christianity obliged yo<sup>w</sup>: ffor the fower first, p'haps yo<sup>r</sup> constant resolucon may move yo<sup>w</sup> to esteeme as lighte, but beinge well wayed, they are not lighte nor lightlye to be regarded ; and for the twoe last, it may be the clearenes of yo<sup>r</sup> owne inwardre conscience may seeme to content yo<sup>r</sup> self : But that is not enoughe, thes dutyes stande not all in Contemplacon or inward meditacon, and cannot be p'formed but by externall accons and when that faileth the substance faileth. This beinge yo<sup>r</sup> p'fent estate and condicon, what is to be done, what is the remedye ? My good Lo. I will never want an honest true harte to wishe well, nor (beinge warranted by a good conscience) feare to speake what I thinke I haue begonne simplie: be not offended, I preache foe, *Bene cedit qui cedit tempori*, and Seneca sayd *Lex si nocentem punit cedendū est Justicia, si Innocentem Fortuna*, the medicyne or remedye is not to strive or contemne but humbly to yelde and submitt ; haue yo<sup>w</sup> given cause and yet take scandall to yo<sup>w</sup>? then all that yo<sup>w</sup> can doe is to[o] little to make satisfacon. Is cause of scandall given to yo<sup>w</sup> yet pollicie, duty and religion enforcethe yo<sup>w</sup> to yelde & submitt to yo<sup>r</sup> souaigne, betweene whome and yo<sup>w</sup> there can be noe equall p'porcon of dutye, where god requires it as principall dutye, and care to him selfe. And when it is evident that greate good may ensue of it, to yo<sup>r</sup> freindes, yo<sup>r</sup> self, yo<sup>r</sup> Countreye and Souaigne : extreame harme to the Contrarye, there can be noe dishonor but in denyinge dis-honor and impyetie. the difficulty my good Lo. is to conquer yo<sup>r</sup> self, w<sup>ch</sup> is the heighte of all trewe valor and fortitude.

Wherevnto all yor honorable accons have tended. Doe it in this and god wilbe pleased, her Mat<sup>e</sup> I doubte not well satisfyed, yor Country will take good and yor freindes conforte by it, and yorfelfe (I mencon yow last ffor of all this yow esteeme yor self leaste) shall receave honor<sup>r</sup> and yor enemyes (yf yow have any) shalbe disappointed of there bitter sweete hope: I have delivered what I thinke simplye and plainelye, and leave yow to determyne accordinge to yor wisedome. If I haue erred it is *Error amoris* not *amor erroris*. Co[n]fute and accepte it (I beseeche yow) as I meane yt, not as an advise but as an opinion.

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## NOTE.

[“My Lord Keeper” was Sir Thomas Egerton, as before; and the “Earl Marshall” was Essex (probably). The next to him was Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester, appointed in 1603. *G.*]

*The Queene's Letter sent to my Ladie Norrice  
to conforte her for the deathe of her  
sonne in Irelande.*

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ALTHOUGHE we have deferred longe to p'sent to yow or greived thoughtes, because we liked full ill to make yow the firste refleccon of or misfortunes, whome we haue allwaies soughte rather to cherishe and conforte, yet knowinge that necessitie must bringe to yo<sup>r</sup> eares & nature consequentlie move passions in yo<sup>r</sup> harte, wee resolued noe long<sup>er</sup> to smother either or care for yo<sup>r</sup> sorrowe or the sympathy of or greife for his death wherein y<sup>e</sup> societie in sorrowe may worke diminution. We doe assyure [yow] by this true messenger of or mynde yt nature can haue stirred noe more dolours of affection in yow as a mother for a deare sonne, then the gratefullnes and memorye of his service past hath wroughte in us his souaigne, apprehension of or mysse of so worthye a servant. But nowe yt [in] nature his comon worke is done and he that was borne to dye hath payd his tribute, let that Christian discretion staye the flux of yo<sup>r</sup> imoderate greivinge w<sup>ch</sup> hathe instructed yo<sup>w</sup> both by example & knowledge, that nothinge of this kinde hath happened but by gode's p'vidence, and let these lynes from yo<sup>r</sup> lovinge & gracous souaigne serve to assure yow yt there shall ever appeare the livelye CHARACTERS of yow and yo<sup>rs</sup> that are beste in or valewinge rightelye all theire faithfull and honest indevores: Nowe at this tyme we will not wryte of this vnsilent subiecte but haue

dispatched this gent. to visitt both yo<sup>r</sup> Lorde and yo<sup>w</sup> to condole w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>w</sup> in the true fence of yo<sup>r</sup> Love and to pray yo<sup>w</sup> that the worlde may see what tyme curethe in weak myndes that discretion & moderacon he hopeth in yo<sup>w</sup> in this accident, wheare there is the fitt occasion to demonstrate true patience and moderacon.

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## NOTE.

[HENRY NORREYS, of Wytham, Berks., was summoned to Parliament 8th May 1572 as Baron Norreys, of Rycote. His wife — to whom the above letter was written — was Margery, dau. and coheir of John, Baron Williams, of Thame, co. Oxon. Their eldest son, Francis, subsequently became Viscount Thame and Earl of Berkshire. Lord Norreys died in 1600. Their second son (of this letter) was an eminent soldier. He was President of the Council of Munster. G.]

*My Ladie Rich to ye Queene.*

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EARELY did I hope this morninge to have had myne eyes blessed w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> mate's Beawties, but seeinge the same depte into a cloude and meetinge w<sup>th</sup> spirittes w<sup>th</sup> did p<sup>r</sup>age [=presage] by the wheeles of theire Chariottes some thund<sup>rs</sup> in the ayre, I must complaine and expresse my feares to yt highe mat<sup>ie</sup> and devine ORACLE from whence I receaved a doubtfull answeare, vnto whose power I must sacrificize again the teares and prayers of the afflicted yt must dispaire in tyme if it be to[o] late to importune heaven when we feele the miseries of Hell or that worde directed to yo<sup>r</sup> sacred wisedome shold owte of season be delivered, for my infortunate brother, whome all men have libertie to defame as if his offence were capitall & he so base deiected a creature yt his love, his lyfe, his service to yo<sup>r</sup> beauties & the State had deserved noe absolucon after so hard prison'mt or so much as to answere in yo<sup>r</sup> sacred p'fence, who would vouch safe more Justice & favo<sup>r</sup> then he can expecte of p'tiall Judges, or those combyned enemyes that labo<sup>r</sup> vppon false groundes to buylde his ruyne, vrginge his faultes as criminall to yo<sup>r</sup> Devine honor, thinkinge it a heaven to blaspheame heaven, when theire owne p'ticular mallice and counsell have praetized onelye to glutt themselves in there owne private revenge, not regardinge yo<sup>r</sup> service or losse so much as theire ambitious endes to rise by his overthrowe, and I haue reason to appr'hend that yf yo<sup>r</sup> faire handes doe not checke the course of theire vnbridled hate, that the last course wilbe his last breathe, since the evill Instrumentes

w<sup>ch</sup> by theire officeouse cuninge p'vide for the ffeast, have sufficient poyson in their harteres to infect: the service they will seeme shalbe easie to digest till it be tasted and then it will p've a p'parative of great<sup>e</sup> mischiefe, concealed amonge such reasteive workemen as will not onelie pull downe all the obftacles of their greatness, but when they are in their full strength, like the GYANTS make warr against heaven. But yo<sup>r</sup> Matie's gracous conclusion in givinge hope of a voyder, is all the conforte I haue, w<sup>ch</sup> if yo<sup>w</sup> haften not before he take a full surfeite of disgrace, they will fay the spottes they haue layd vpon him are to[o] fowle to be washed awaye and so his blemish<sup>e</sup> reputacon must disable him for ever svinge againe his sacred Goddesse, whose excellent beauties and p'fctions will never suffer those faire eyes to retorne foe farr from compassion, but at the leaſt that yf he may not retorne to the happines of his former f'vice, to live at the feete of his admired m'tres yet he may sett downe in private life, wthowte the imputacon of Infamye: that his posterity maye not repent theire fathers were borne of so harde destinies, twoe of them p'ishinge by beinge employed in one Counterie, where they wold haue done yo<sup>w</sup> f'vice to the sheddinge of theire laſt bloode, if they had not beene wounded to deathe behinde by facton, that care not one [=on] whose necke they uniuſtly buylde the walles of theire owne fortunes, w<sup>ch</sup> I feare will growe more daungerously highe then is yet discou'ed yf God doe not hinder the worke as the Tower of Babell and confound theire tounges that vnderſtand one another to[o] well. And laſtlie ſince owte of yo<sup>r</sup> matie's owne princely nature and vnſteined vertue there muſt needes appeare that vertue is not farr from ſuch a beautie, I moſt humblie beſech yo<sup>w</sup> make it yo<sup>r</sup> owne worke and not to ſuffer thoſe to take advantage that lye in ambushe thinkinge foe ſoone as they discou'r a relentinge and compassion in yo<sup>r</sup> worthye mynde, to take the hono<sup>r</sup> vpon them as meanes of o<sup>r</sup> ſalvacon, Not owte of Charitie but pride, that all muſt be attributed to them and yo<sup>r</sup> ſacred clemency abuſed by forcinge vs to goe throughe purgatorye to heaven. But let yo<sup>r</sup> maties devine power be noe more

eclipsed then yo<sup>r</sup> beauty w<sup>ch</sup> hath shined through all the world,  
and ymitate the highest in not destroyinge those that trust onely  
in your mercye, w<sup>th</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> humble request I p'sume to kis yo<sup>r</sup> fayrest  
handes vowinge the obedience and endles Love of

Yo<sup>r</sup> matie's most dutifull  
and Loyall Servant

P. R.

This letter beinge shewed at the Counsell tabell and willed to  
make exposicon thereof and what she mente by it I answered  
p'rsentlie what I ment I wrott and what I wrott I mente. P. R.

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NOTE.

[These initials P. R. (= Penelope Rich) point to one scarcely less  
brilliant while scarcely less ill-fated than her brother (Robert), Earl of  
Essex. See note on next letter. G.]

*To her Matie.*

**F**ROM a minde delitinge in forowe, from spirettes wasted  
w<sup>th</sup> passion, from a harte tornē in peeces w<sup>th</sup> Care, greife &  
travyle, from a man that hateth himselfe & all thinges that  
keepe him aliue, what f'vice can I yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ie</sup> reape, since my f'vice  
past deserves noe more then banishment & p'scription in the  
Curfed of all Countryes, nay it is yo<sup>r</sup> Rebelles pride & successe  
that must give leaue to ransome my life out of this hatefull  
prison of my bodye, w<sup>ch</sup> yf it happen soe yo<sup>r</sup> mat<sup>ie</sup> shall haue no  
cause to mislike the fashion of my deathe, although the course of  
my life colde neuer please you.

Yo<sup>r</sup> mat<sup>ie</sup>'s exilde f'vant  
Rob: Effex.

## NOTE.

[See our collection of the Poems of Robert, Earl of Essex, in our *Miscellanies* of the FULLER WORTHIES' LIBRARY, wherein is a short copy of Verses to ELIZABETH, in all probability enclosed in the above letter — given also onward in the present Volume. Compare our Works of Fulk Greville, Lord Brooke, for notices of PENELOPE RICH of the letter preceding this. G.]

*My Lo. Mountioye to the Earle of Essex.*

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BY my occasion of beinge at the Courte, I did observe that w<sup>ch</sup> I was forye & glade to see, a Courte naked w<sup>thout</sup> yow & yet not w<sup>thout</sup> a longinge desire to haue yow there agayne. I hard by others how clerely M<sup>r</sup> Secretary hath made report of yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. good f<sup>r</sup>vice in Counsell, how well her Mat<sup>i</sup>e liked of it p<sup>t</sup>esting that yow wold doe better for others then for yo<sup>r</sup> selfe. By some speeches w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Secretarye I fawe bothe his opinion that all might & would be well & his disposition to doe the best offices that lay in him, notw<sup>th</sup> stadinge yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. harde Conceite of him for some thinges, whereof yf nothinge old wold satisfie yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. he did not doubte but tyme wold Cleare him. her Mat<sup>i</sup>e never vsed me w<sup>th</sup> greater grace, but yet so that I might playnlye see her Comendations of my kindnes & Care to please her, to be a secret Complayntiffe that she Could not finde the like wher she most desiered. I knowe howe vnfytts I am to advise one wiser then my selfe in this cause, where yo<sup>r</sup> honor is more deere vnto you then yo<sup>r</sup> lyfe, but yet may it plese yo<sup>r</sup> honor to Consider theife Circumstances : She is yo<sup>r</sup> Sou<sup>r</sup>aigne w<sup>th</sup> whom you may not beate vppon w<sup>th</sup> equall conditions. She denyethe the grounde of yo<sup>r</sup> difference, w<sup>ch</sup> is a kinde of satisfaction. by all liklyhood she would be glad to meeete you halfe waye, yf that w<sup>ch</sup> dothe not nowe a lyttle trouble her, shold further distemper her vppon whose life & healthe you knowe howe many depende. I am assured it wolde be a greate greife vnto yo<sup>w</sup> then the losse of her hand. for the other side that w<sup>ch</sup> you feele (as Ma<sup>r</sup> Cecell &

other yo<sup>r</sup> ffrienides at Courte do wiselye fore see) Can be noe benifytt, for admytt you drawe her to forgett her power & to yeald in her affection to that w<sup>th</sup> she is vnwillinge to doe, yo<sup>r</sup> peace Cannot be w<sup>th</sup>out matter of difference. In so much as she will hardly forgett to what vnequall Condicons you brought her. wher as yf you preuent her in kindnes & yeald to her (to whom ther is noe disperagement to yelde to her will) all circumstancies considered, yo<sup>w</sup> shall be nothinge vnworthye yo<sup>r</sup> selfe, yo<sup>w</sup> shall make a sure peace & Come w<sup>th</sup> more ease to it, w<sup>th</sup> I take to be yo<sup>r</sup> owne ende; I grant yo<sup>r</sup> wronge to be greaterre then soe noble a hart can digeste, but Consider my good Lorde, howe great she is w<sup>th</sup> whome you deale, howe willinge, w<sup>th</sup> howe lyttle yealdinge to be conquired, what advantage yo<sup>w</sup> have by yealdinge when you are wronged, what disadvantage by forcinge her, whome thoughe you deserve never so muche you must relye vpon for [illegible]: howe stronge you shall make yo<sup>r</sup> enemyes, howe weake yo<sup>r</sup> ffreindes & howe p'voked patience turnethe into furye & delayed anger into hatred. what oportunitye her late lose and state, p'sent necessitie may giue you to benifytt yo<sup>r</sup> selfe & yor<sup>s</sup>, and lastlye what offence the world (that honoreth yo<sup>r</sup> vertues) may take, when they shall finde that to rite yo<sup>r</sup> selfe yo<sup>w</sup> neclecte her. but this is all in loue. I refere it to yo<sup>r</sup> better Judgment & onelye advise that what soever peace yo<sup>w</sup> make yo<sup>w</sup> vse not other means but yo<sup>r</sup> selfe which will be more honorable for yo<sup>w</sup> and more acceptable to her.

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NOTE.

[CHARLES BLOUNT, eighth Baron MOUNTJOY, succeeded his brother William in 1594, and was created Earl of Devonshire 21st July 1603. He had seduced Penelope, sister of the Earl of Essex and wife of Robert, Lord Rich, but subsequently married her after a divorce had been obtained. He died 3rd April 1606, leaving no legitimate issue, and his titles became extinct. G.]

*M<sup>r</sup> ffrancis Bacon to my Lord Henry Howarde.*

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MY Lorde, ther are verye fewe besides yo<sup>r</sup> selfe to whome I would p'forme this respect, for I Contemine MENDACIA FAMAE, as It walkes amongst inferyors, though I necle<sup>c</sup>t it not as it may haue entrance into some eares. for yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. love rooted vpon good opinion, I esteeme it heighlye, because I haue tasted of the sweetes of it & we bothe haue tasted of the bytter water in my account to knitte myndes together.

Ther is shaped a tale in a lewde forge that beates apace at this tyme, that I shold deliu<sup>r</sup> an opinion to the Queene in the Lo. of Effex Cause: ffirst that it was p<sup>r</sup>'munire & nowe last that it was heigh treason & this opinion to be in opposition & encounter of the Cheefe Justices opineon & the Attornye generall.

My Lo. I thanke god my witte servith me not to deliu<sup>r</sup> an oppinion to the Queene w<sup>ch</sup> my stomake serveth not to mayntayne, one & the same Conscience of dutye, guidinge & fortifyinge me. But the vntruth of the ffable god and my Sou<sup>e</sup>eigne Can witnes & ther I leave it, knowinge noe other re'dedye [=remedy] agaynst lyes then others doe agaynst Lybells.

The roote of it noe doubte is some light headed p'son envyngre at my accesses to her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> beinge begone & Continewed since Childhood, as longe as her Ma<sup>tie</sup> shall thinke me worthye, I scorne those that shall thinke the Contrarye. And an other thinge is the Aspersion of this tale and the envye thereof vpon some greater man in respekte of my meanes.

And therefore my Lo. I humblye praye yo<sup>r</sup> answer for me to

any p'sone that yo<sup>w</sup> shall thinke worthye, yo<sup>r</sup> replye & my defence  
ffor my Lo. of Essex, I am not servile to him, havinge regarde  
to my superio<sup>r</sup> dutye, I haue beene much bownt to him & on the  
other side, I doe p'teste before god, I haue spent more thoughtes  
& more tyme about his well doinge then ever I did about my  
owne. I praye god yo<sup>w</sup> his ffreindes amongst yo<sup>w</sup> be in ther right,  
*Nulla remedia tam faciunt dolorem quam quæ sunt salutaria*, for  
my p'te I haue deferued better then to haue my name obiected  
to envye, my life to a Ruffen's violence. But I haue the priue  
Coate of a good Conscience and am sure theise Courses & Brutes  
hurt my Lo. more then all.

Soe hauinge written to yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. in freedome, I exceedinglye  
desire to be preserved in yo<sup>r</sup> good opinion & Love, & soe Leave  
you to godes goodnes.

30 december 1599.

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#### NOTE.

[First published in Rawley's *Resuscitatio*, Supplement, p. 100; and  
since often. Consult Spedding's *Bacon: Life and Letters*, vol. ii. pp.  
161-2. There are slight verbal differences in our present text. G.]

*My Lo. Hen. Howarde to Mar ffrancis Bacon.*

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I MOUGHT be thought vnworthye of that good Conceyte yow  
holde of me (good Mr Bacon) If I did not sympathize w<sup>th</sup>  
soe sensitive a minde in this smarte & wrongfull imputation of  
vnthankefulnes ; yow weare the first that gave me notice I p'teste  
at Ritchmonde of the rumor, thoughe w<sup>th</sup>in two dayes after I  
harde more then yow deserve. soe can I not beleeve what the  
greedye malice of the world hathe layed on yow. The travile of  
that worthy gentleman on yo<sup>r</sup> behalfe when yow stooode for a  
place of Creditt, The delight w<sup>ch</sup> he hath ever taken in yo<sup>r</sup> companye,  
his greife that he could not seale vp assurance of his loue  
by fruites, effectes & offices p'portionable to an Infinit desire,  
his studye in my knowledge to engage yo<sup>r</sup> love by the beste  
meanes he coulde devise, are forceable p'swasions & Instances to  
make me iudge, that a gentleman so well borne, a wise gentleman  
so well levelled, a gentleman soe heighly valewed by a p'son of  
his vertewe, worthy any quallitye, will rather hunt after all occa-  
sions of expresinge thankfulnes, so farr as dutye doth p'mitt, then  
either omitt op'tunitye or encrease Indignation. noe man aliue  
out of the thoughtes of Judgment, the groundes of Knowledge,  
and lessons of experience, is better able to distinguishe betweene  
publike and privat ofices & to directe measure in keepinge a  
measure in discharge of bothe, to w<sup>ch</sup> I referr yow for the findinge  
out of the goulden nomber. In myne owne p'ticular opinion I  
esteeme of yow as I haue done euer & yo<sup>r</sup> rare p'tes deserves &  
so fare as my voyce hath creditt accordinge to the warrant of yo<sup>r</sup>

p'fession & the store of my best wishes in all degrees toward yo<sup>w</sup>.

My creditt is soe weake in workinge any strange effect of ffreindshipp wher I would doe most, as to speake of blossomes w<sup>t</sup>out givinge taste of fruities were Idlenes. but yf yo<sup>w</sup> will give credit to my wordes, it is not longe since I gaue testimonye of my affection in the eare of one that neither wantes desiere nor means to doe it.

Thus wishinge to yo<sup>r</sup> Creditt that allowance of respekte & reverence w<sup>t</sup>h yo<sup>r</sup> wife & honest letter dothe deserve and restinge ever readye to releeve all mindes so farre as my abilitye & means will stretche, that g'one vnder the burthen of vndeserved wronges, I commende yo<sup>w</sup> to godes p'tection & my selfe to the beste vse that you will make of me. In haste from my lodginges.

Your lovinge and assured freinde to be  
disposd of: Hen. Howard.

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#### NOTE.

[HENRY HOWARD was second son of Henry, the celebrated Earl of Surrey (beheaded in 1547). His character does not stand well, albeit this is a very noticeable letter. He was subsequently created Earl of Northampton, but died unmarried 15th June 1614, and his titles became extinct. It does not appear that the present very remarkable and penetrative letter has been printed. It is not given in SPEDDING (see last Note). G.]

*S<sup>r</sup> Walter Raleigh to S<sup>r</sup> Robert Car.*

---

SR after many greate losses and many yeares of services, of both w<sup>ch</sup> I haue cause to feare y<sup>t</sup> I was mistaken in their endes, It is come to my knowledge that yo<sup>r</sup> selfe (whome I knowe not but by an honorable fame) haue bin p'fuaded to give me & mine or last fatall blowe, by obtayning from his Ma<sup>tie</sup> the inheritance of my children & nephewes, lost in the law for want of a worde. this done, here remaines nothing w<sup>th</sup> me but y<sup>e</sup> name of life, dispoyled of all else but y<sup>e</sup> title & sorrow thereof. his ma<sup>tie</sup>, whome I never offended (for I ever helde it vnnaturall & vnmanly to hate goodnes) stayed me at y<sup>e</sup> graue's brink, not (as I hope) y<sup>t</sup> his Ma<sup>tie</sup> thought me worthy of many deathes & to beholde all mine cast out of y<sup>e</sup> worlde, w<sup>th</sup> my selfe, but as a Kinge iudging the poore in truth, hath receyved a p'mise from God y<sup>t</sup> his throne shall be establisched for ever. And for my selfe, S<sup>r</sup>, seing yo<sup>r</sup> faire day is but now in y<sup>e</sup> dawne & mine drawne to y<sup>e</sup> endinge, yo<sup>r</sup> owne vertue & y<sup>e</sup> Kinge's grace assuring you of many good fortunes & much hono<sup>r</sup>, I beseech you not to begin yo<sup>r</sup> building upon y<sup>e</sup> ruines of y<sup>e</sup> Innocent, & y<sup>t</sup> their & mine sorrowes may not attende yo<sup>r</sup> first plantation. I haue bin ever bounde to y<sup>r</sup> nation as well for many other graces as for their true report of my tryall to y<sup>e</sup> Kinge's ma<sup>tie</sup>, against whome had I bin founde malignant, the hearing of my cause woulde not haue changed enemies into freindes, malice into compassion, & y<sup>e</sup> mindes of the greatest number p'sent into y<sup>e</sup> consideration of my estate. It is not in the nature of foule treason

to beget sutch faire passions, neither coulde it agree w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> dutye & loue of faithfull subiects (especially of yo<sup>r</sup> nation) to bewaile his ouerthrowe y<sup>t</sup> had conspired against their most liberall & naturall lorde. I therefore trust S<sup>r</sup> you will not be the first y<sup>t</sup> shall kill vs outright, roote downe y<sup>e</sup> tree w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> fruites & vndergoe the curse of them y<sup>t</sup> enter into y<sup>e</sup> fieldes of the fatherlesse (w<sup>ch</sup> if it please you to knowe the truth ar farre lesse fruitfull in valew then in fame) but that so worthy a gentleman as yo<sup>r</sup> selfe will rather binde vs to yo<sup>r</sup> service, being Sir, gentlemen not base in birth & alyance, w<sup>ch</sup> haue interest therein, and my selfe w<sup>th</sup> my vttermost thankfulnes will ever remaine ready

To obey yo<sup>r</sup> comandement.

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#### NOTE.

[The present and succeeding letter of RALEIGH are printed with care in EDWARDS' very admirable *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh* (2 vols. 8vo, 1870), in their places. But see remarks on our text of them in our *Introduction. G.*]

*Sr Walter Raleigh to his Wife.*

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YOU shall receiue (my deare wife) my last wordes in these  
my last lines. My loue I fende you y<sup>t</sup> you kepe it when  
I am deade, and my counsell y<sup>t</sup> you may remember it when I am  
no more. I woulde not w<sup>th</sup> my will present you sorrowes (Deare  
Besse) let them go to ye<sup>e</sup> grownde w<sup>th</sup> me, and be buried in y<sup>e</sup>  
dust, And seing it is not y<sup>e</sup> will of God, y<sup>t</sup> ever I shoulde see  
you more in this life, beare my destruction gently, & w<sup>th</sup> a heart  
like my selfe. First I fende you all y<sup>e</sup> thankes my heart can  
conceive or my wordes expresse for your many troubles & cares  
taken for me, w<sup>ch</sup> though theye have not taken effect, as you  
wished, yet my debt to you is not y<sup>e</sup> lesse, but pay it I never  
shall in this worlde. Secondly, I beseech you for y<sup>e</sup> loue you  
beare me living y<sup>t</sup> you do not hide your selfe many daies, but by  
your travaile seeke to helpe your miserable fortune, & y<sup>e</sup> right of  
your poore childe. your mourning cannot availe me y<sup>t</sup> am but  
dust. Thirdly, you shall vnderstand y<sup>t</sup> my landes were conveied  
BONA FIDE to my childe. the writings were drawen at Mid-  
sommer was a tweluemonth, (as divers can witnesse,) and I trust  
y<sup>t</sup> my bloud will quench their malice y<sup>t</sup> desire my slaughter & y<sup>t</sup>  
they will not seeke also to kill you and yours w<sup>th</sup> extreame  
pouerty. To what friende to direct you, I know not, for all  
mine haue left me in y<sup>e</sup> trewe time of tryall. Most sorry I am  
(as God knoweth) y<sup>t</sup> being thus surprised I can leauue you no  
better estate. I meant you all my office of wines, or y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I  
coulde purchase by selling it, halfe my stufte & my iewels, but

some fewe for y<sup>e</sup> boy, but God hath preuented all my determinations. the greate God yt worketh all: but if you can liue free from want, care for no more, the rest is but vanity.

Loue God, and begin betimes to repose y<sup>r</sup> selfe on him. there in you shall finde trewe & lasting riches & endles comfortes. for the rest, when you haue travailed and wearied y<sup>r</sup> thoughtes over all fortis of worldly cogitations, you shall sit dolour by sorroewe in the ende.

Teach your sonne also to serue & feare God, whiles he is younge, yt y<sup>e</sup> feare of God may growe vp w<sup>th</sup> him. Then will God be a husbande vnto you, & a father vnto him yt can never be taken from you.

Baylye oweth me 1000<sup>l</sup>, Arion 600<sup>l</sup>. In Gersey also, I haue much owing me. The arrearages of y<sup>e</sup> wine will pay my debtes, And howsoever I beseech you for my soule's sake pay all poore men when I am gone.

No doubt but you shall be sought vnto, for y<sup>e</sup> worlde does thinke yt I am very rich. But take heede of y<sup>e</sup> p'tences of men, & of theire affections, for they last but in honest and worthy men, and no greater misery can befall you in this life then become a pray, and after to be despised. I speake it (God knoweth) not to diswade you from marriage, for yt will be best for you, both in respect of God & y<sup>e</sup> worlde. As for me I am no more yours, nor you mine: death hath cut vs asunder, and God hath devided me from y<sup>e</sup> worlde and you from me.

Remember your poore childe for his father's sake, that comforted & loved you in his happiest times. I fued for my life, but (God knoweth) it was for you & yours yt I desired it, for knowe it (deare wife) yt your sonne is the childe of a trewe man, and who in his owne respect despiseth death, & all his mishapen and vgly formes.

I cannot write much, God knoweth how hardly I steale this time, when all sleepe, and it is time to separate my thoughtes from the worlde. Begg my deade body w<sup>th</sup> living was deemed yours, and either lay it in Sherborne, or in Exeter Church by

my father and my Mother. I can say no more, time and death call me away.

The everlasting, infinite, powerfull & inscrutable God y<sup>t</sup> almighty God w<sup>th</sup> is goodnes it selfe, mercy it selfe, the trewe light and life, keepe you, and yours, and haue mercy vpon me, teach me to forgiue my p'fecutors and false accusers, and fende vs to meeke him in his glorious kingdome.

My trewe wife, farewell, God blesse my pore boy, pray for me, my trewe God holde you both in his armes.

*To the right honourable his very good Lords the  
Lords spirituall & Temporall in ye vpper  
house of Parliament assembled.*

---

MY very good Lords: I humbly pray yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>ps</sup>s all to make a favourable & trewe construction of my absence: It is no faining, nor fainting, but sicknes bothe of my harte & back, though ioynes w<sup>th</sup> this comfort of minde y<sup>t</sup> p'swadeth me I am not farre from heauen, whereof I seek y<sup>e</sup> first frui<sup>c</sup>tes: And because whether I liue or dye, I woulde be glad to p'serue mine honour & fame, so farre as I am worthy, hearing y<sup>t</sup> some complaintes of base bribery are come before yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>ps</sup>s, my request vnto yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>ps</sup>s is,

First y<sup>t</sup> you will maintaine me in yo<sup>r</sup> good opinion w<sup>th</sup>out preiudice vntill my cause be heard.

Secondly y<sup>t</sup> in regard I haue sequestred my minde at this time in greate pt from worldly matters, thinking of my accompt & answere in a higher court, yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>ps</sup>s will giue me some conueniente time (according to y<sup>e</sup> course of other Courts) to advise w<sup>th</sup> my Counsell, & to make my aunswere, wherein nevery<sup>e</sup> lesse my Counsels pt will be y<sup>e</sup> least, for I shall not (by the grace of God) trick vp an innocency w<sup>th</sup> cauelations but plainly & righteously (as yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>ps</sup>s know my manner is) declare what I knowe or remember.

Thirdly, y<sup>t</sup> according to y<sup>e</sup> course of iustice, I may be alowed

to except to y<sup>e</sup> witnesses brought against me & to moue questions to yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>pps</sup>s for y<sup>e</sup> crosse examination, and likewise to p'duce mine owne witnesses for discouery of y<sup>e</sup> truth.

And lastly if there come any more petitions of like nature that yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>pps</sup>s wolde be pleased not to take any of them, especially against a iudge yt makes 2000 decrees & orders in a yeare, not to speake of y<sup>e</sup> courses yt haue bin taken for hunting out complaintes against me, but yt I may aunswere them according to y<sup>e</sup> rules of iustice severally & respectiuely.

These requests, I hope appeare to yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>pps</sup>s no other then iust, and so thinking my selfe happy to haue so noble Peeres, & reuerend Prelates to discerne of my cause, & desiring no priuledge of greatnes for subterfuge of guiltines, but meaning (as I say) to deale fairely & plainly w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>pps</sup>s, & to put my selfe vpon yo<sup>r</sup> Honours & favoure, I pray God to blesse yo<sup>r</sup> counsailes and yo<sup>r</sup> persons.

Yor Lo.<sup>pps</sup>s humble servant  
Fra. St Alban Can.

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#### NOTE.

[The present letter and related papers of BACON have been repeatedly printed ; but see our *Introduction* for remarks on our text. G.]

*To the right honourable the Lords of the Parla-  
ment in the Vpper house assembled.*

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*The humble submission & supplication of the Lord Chancelr.*

IT may please yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>pps</sup> I shall humbly craue at yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>pps</sup> handes a benigne interpretation of y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I shall now write: for wordes yt come from wasted spiritts, & an oppressed minde ar more safe in being deposited in a noble construction, then in being circled w<sup>th</sup> a reserved caution. This being moved, & as I hope obteyned in the nature of a p'tection to all yt I shall say, I shall now make unto y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>t</sup> where w<sup>th</sup> I shall at this time trouble yo<sup>r</sup> Lor.<sup>pps</sup> a very straunge entraunce. For in the middest of a state of as greate affliction as I thinke a mortall man can indure (honour being aboue life) I shall begin w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> p'fessing of gladnes in some things. The first is that hereafter the greatness of a iudge, or magistrate, will be no sanctuary, or p'tection of guiltines, w<sup>ch</sup> in few wordes is the beginning of a goulden worlde. The next yt after this example it is like the iudges will flee from any thing yt is in the likenes of corruption & though it were at a greate distance (as from a serpent) w<sup>ch</sup> tendeth to y<sup>e</sup> purging of y<sup>e</sup> courtes of Justice, & reducing them to their true honour & splendor. And in these two pointes (God is my witnes) that though it be my fortune to be the anvill upon w<sup>ch</sup> these good effects are beaten, and wrought, I take no small comfort.

But to passe from y<sup>e</sup> motions of my harte (where of God is

my only iudge) to the meritts of my cause where of yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>pps</sup>s are judges vnder God, & his lieutenant, I do vnderstand there hath bin heretofore expected from me some iustification, and therefore I haue chosen one only iustification, instead of all others out of the Justifications of Job.

For after the cleare submission & confession w<sup>ch</sup> I shall now make vnto yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>pps</sup>, I hope I may say and iustify w<sup>th</sup> Job in these wordes, 'I haue not hid my sinnes as did Adam, nor concealed my faultes in my bosome.' This is the only iustification I will vse. It resteth therefore (that w<sup>th</sup>out figg leaues) I doe ingenuously confess & acknowledg, I having vnderftode the particulers of the charge not formerly [=formally?] from the house, but inough to informe my conscience & memory, I finde matter sufficient, and full, both to moue me to desert the offence, and to moue yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>pps</sup> to condemne and censure me.

Neither will I trouble yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>pps</sup> by singling thos p'ticulers w<sup>ch</sup> I thinke may fall of, *Quid te exempta iuuat spinis de pluribus vna*, neither will I prompt your Lo.<sup>pps</sup> to obserue vpon the profes where they come not home, nor the scruples touching the creditts of the wittnesses, neither will I represent to yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>pps</sup> how farre a defence might in diuers thinges extenuate the offence in respect of y<sup>e</sup> time, or of y<sup>e</sup> manner of the guift, or the like circumstances, but only leau those thinges to springe out of yo<sup>r</sup> owne noble thoughtes and obseruations of y<sup>e</sup> euidence & examinations themselues, charitably to winde about the p'ticulers of the charge here & there, as God shall put into yo<sup>r</sup> mindes, and so submitt my selfe wholy to yo<sup>r</sup> piety and grace.

And now y<sup>t</sup> I haue spoken to yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>pps</sup>s as Judges, I shall say a few wordes to you as Peeres and Prelats, humbly co<sup>m</sup>ending my cause to yo<sup>r</sup> noble mindes & magnanimous affections.

Yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>pps</sup>s are not simply iudges, but Parliamentary iudges, you haue a further extent of arbitrary power then other Courtes, and if yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>pps</sup>s be not tyed by y<sup>e</sup> ordinary course or presidents in point of strictnes & feuerity, much more in point of mercy & mitigation. And yet if anything w<sup>ch</sup> I shall moue might be con-

trary to yo<sup>r</sup> honourable & worthy endes to introduce a reformation, I should not seeke it, but herein I beseech yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>PPS</sup> to giue me leauue to tell you a story.

Titus Manlius tooke his sonnes life for giving battell against y<sup>e</sup> prohibition of his generall. not many yeares after the like feuerity was pursued by Papirius Curfor y<sup>e</sup> dictator against Quintus Maximus, who being vpon the point to be sentenced, by intercession of some principall persons of y<sup>e</sup> Senate was spared, where vpon Liuie maketh thus graue and gratiouse obseruation, *Neg. minus firmata est disciplina militaris periculo quinti Maximi, quam miserabili supplicio Titi Manlij:* The discipline of warre was no lesse establisched by y<sup>e</sup> questioning of Quintus Maximus then by y<sup>e</sup> punishment of Titus Manlius. And y<sup>e</sup> same reason is of y<sup>e</sup> reformation of Justice, for y<sup>e</sup> questioning of men of eminent place, hath the same terro<sup>r</sup>, though not y<sup>e</sup> same rigor w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> punishment. But my case stayeth not there, for my humble desire is yt his Ma<sup>tie</sup> woulde take y<sup>e</sup> seale into his handes, w<sup>ch</sup> is a greate downefall, and may serue (I hope) in it selfe for an expiation of my fault. Therefore if mercy & mittigation be in yo<sup>r</sup> power and do no way croffe yo<sup>r</sup> endes, why shoulde I not hope for yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>PPS</sup> favour and comiseration. Yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>PPS</sup> will be pleased to behoulde yo<sup>r</sup> chife patterne the kinge our souaigne, a king of incomparable clemency, & whose harte is inscrutablie for wisedome & goodnes. Yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>PPS</sup> will remember that there sat not this hundred yeares before a Prince in yo<sup>r</sup> house, and never such a Prince, whose prefence deserveth to be made memorabile by recordes, and acts mixt w<sup>th</sup> mercy & iustice. Yo<sup>r</sup> felues ar either nobles (and compassion ever beateth in y<sup>e</sup> vaines of noble bloud) or reurende Prelats, who are y<sup>e</sup> seruaunts to him yt woulde not breake the brused reede, nor quench y<sup>e</sup> smoking flaxe: you ar set vpon a high stage, and therefore cannot but be more fencible of y<sup>e</sup> chaunges of y<sup>e</sup> worlde, & of y<sup>e</sup> fall of any high place. Neither will yo<sup>r</sup> Lopp<sup>s</sup> forgett that there are *vitia temporis* as well as *vitia hominis*, and the beginning of reformations hath y<sup>e</sup> contrary power to the Poole of Bethesda, for it had strength only to

cure him yt was first cast in, & this hath comonly strength to hurt him only yt is first cast in, & for my pt I wish it may stay there, and go no further.

Lastly, I assure my selfe yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>pps</sup> haue a noble feeling of me as a member of yo<sup>r</sup> owne body, & one yt in this very Sesson had some taſt of your loving affections, w<sup>ch</sup> I hope was not ye lightning before the death of them, but rather a sparke of yt grace w<sup>ch</sup> now in ye conclusion will more appeare.

And therefore my humble ſute vnto yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>pps</sup> is yt my penitent ſubmission may be my ſentence, & ye loſſe of ye ſeale my punishment, and yt yo<sup>r</sup> Lo.<sup>pps</sup> will ſpare any further ſentence, but recoſſende me to his Maties grace and pardon for all yt is paſt. God's holy Spirit be amouſt you.

22<sup>o</sup> Aprilis 1621.

Yo<sup>r</sup> lopp<sup>s</sup> humble ſervaunt and  
ſuppliant

Francis St Alban Chanc.

*Verses made upon S<sup>r</sup> francis Bacon  
Viscount Verulam.*

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[The Editor very gladly embraces the opportunity of printing for the first time a contemporary Lament for Bacon—taken from a MS. collection formerly in the possession of LORD KINGSBOROUGH, and bound and mounted by the late Mr. HASLEWOOD in two folio volumes (624, vol. i. pp. 37-40). Unfortunately this pathetic, however rude, Lamentation is anonymous. It must be regarded by all as an acceptable supplement to these letters of Bacon. Throughout the original is scrupulously reproduced.]

WHEN you awake dull Brittons and behould  
 What treasure you haue throwen into this mould,  
 Your ignorance in pr'seruing of a State  
 You shall confess, and that your rashnes (hate)  
 For in a fenceles fury you haue flaine  
 A man farr beyond the spungy braine  
 Of comon knowledg, as is heauen from hell  
 And yett you triumphe, thinke you haue done well.  
 O that this monster Multitude shoud fitt  
 10 In place of Justice, Reason, Conscience, witt  
 Nay in a throne or spheare aboue them all  
 For 'tis a supreame power that can call  
 All those to the barr, and with a frowning browe  
 Make senatours, nay mighty consuls bowe.  
 Bould Plebeans, the day will come I know

- When such as Cato, such as Cicero  
Shalbe more worth then the first borne can be  
Of all your ancestors or posterretye:  
But he's not dead, youle say, O butt the soule  
Once chekt, contrould, that use to controule  
20 Coucheth his downy wings and scornes to fly  
Att any game butt faire Eternety  
Each spiritt is retyrèd to a rome  
And made his liuингe boddy butt a tombe  
On which such epitaphes may welbe reade  
As would the gazer strike with forrowe dead  
O that I could butt giue his worth a name  
That if not you your sones might blush for shame:  
Who in arethmeticke hath greatest skill,  
30 His good parts cannot number, yett his ill  
Cannot be cald a number, since tis knowne  
He had butt few that could be cald his owne;  
And those in other men, euen in these times  
Are often praisd, and vertues callèd crimes.  
But as in purest things, the smalleſt spott  
Is foner feene then eyther staine or blot  
In baſer ſtuffe, euen ſoe his chance was ſuch  
To haue of faults to[o] few, of worth to[o] much:  
Soe by the brightnes of his owne clear light  
40 The moates he had lay open to each fight.  
If you would haue a man in all points good  
You must not haue him made of flesh and blood;  
An act of Parlement you must first fetle  
And force dame Nature worke on better mettle.  
Some faults he had, no more then seemed to proue  
He drew his line from Adame not from Joue;  
And theyſe ſmall staines in Nature's firſte offence  
Like moones in armory weer, made diſference  
Twixt him and angels, being ſure no other  
Then marks to know him for theyr younger brother.

- 50 Such spotts remoud (not to prophane him then)  
 Might well be cald a demy god mongst men  
 A diamond flawe, saphires or rubyes staind  
 But undervallued are, not quite desdaint ;  
 Which by a foile recouered, they then become  
 As worthy of esteeme, yeild no lesf some.  
 The Gardner finding once a canker growne  
 Upon a tree that he had fruitfull knowne  
 Grubs it not up, but with a carefull hand  
 Opens the roote, remoues the clay or fand  
 60 That cause the canker, or with cuning art  
 Pares of some rine but comes not neere the hart :  
 Only such trees the axe's edg endures  
 As neere bare fruite or else are past all cures.  
 The prudent husbandman thrusts not his sheere  
 Into the corne because the weeds are theere  
 But takes his hooke and gently as he may  
 Walkes through the feilde and pluckles them all away :  
 A house of many roomes one may comaund  
 Butt yett it shall require many a hand  
 70 To keepe itt cleane, and if some filth be found  
 Crept in through negligence, tis cast to th' ground ?  
 Fy on't ? But first the supreame owner comes  
 Examins euery office, reviues the romes [reviews]  
 Makes them be clenfd and on a certaine paine  
 Comaunds they neuer be foe found againe :  
 The Temple else should ouerthowne haue been  
 Because so manny brokers weer therin ;  
 The arke had funke and perisht in the flood .  
 Because some beasts crept in that weer not good ;  
 80 Adame had with a thunderboult been strooke  
 When he from Eue a goulden apple tooke ;  
 Butt shoulde the Maker of mankind doe foe  
 Whoe shoulde write man, who shoulde to man's state growe ?

- Shall he be putt then to the extreames of Lawe  
Because his conscience had a little flawe ?  
Will you want conscience cleare because that he  
Stumbled or slipt butt in a small degree ?  
No, first looke backe to all your owne past acts  
Then pass your censure, punish all the facts  
90 By him comitted, then Ile fweare he shall  
Confess that you are upright Chancelors all  
And for the time to come with all his might  
Strive to out doe you all in doing right.  
O would his predecessor's ghost appeare  
And tell how foule his Master left the chayre,  
How euery fether that he fatt upon  
Infectious was, and that ther was no stome  
On which some contract was not made to fright  
The fatherles and widdowe from their right,  
100 No stoole, no bord, no rush, no bench on which  
The poore man was not sould unto the rich,  
You would giue longer times the roomes to ayre  
And what you now call foule you would thinke fayre:  
He tooke, to keepe, tis knowne, thus butt to liue  
He robd to purchase land, and this to giue,  
And had he been but blest in oure comon treasure  
He would haue giuen much more, with much more pleasure:  
The Night's great lampe from the rich sea will take  
To lend the thirsty land, and from each lake  
110 That hath an overplus borrowe a share  
Not to her owne use butt for to repaire  
The ruines of some parcht and dried up hill;  
Soe this unconstant plannett farr more ill  
They cannot speake of him, tooke from some flood  
Not for his owne use butt to doe others good;  
Butt such misfortunes dogd his honest will  
That what he tooke with wronge he gaue as ill;

- For those his bountye most, as all suppose  
 Not those he iniured, prou'd his greatest foes.
- 120 Soe foolish mothers from theyr wiser mates  
 Oft filch and steale, weaken theyr owne estates  
 To feed the humor of some wanton boy  
 They filly weomen hopeing to haue ioye  
 Of this ranke plant when they are sableſt growne  
 But feile or neuer hath it yett been knowne [feldom]  
     That pampered youth gaue parents more releife  
     Then what increast theyr age with paine & greife.  
 Theyr ouer fight of nature, former times  
 Haue rather pittyed then condemned as crimes;
- 130 Then wher is charrety become of late ?  
 Is her place begd ? her office giuen to hate ?  
 Is there a patent got for her restraint ?  
 Or monopoly gaint by false complainte ?  
 If soe, pursue the patentees, for sure  
 False information did the writt procure ;  
 The feale is counterfett, the referreyes  
 Haue taken bribes ; then first examine theise  
 Restore faire Charrety to her place againe
- 140 And he that suffers now may then complaine.  
 Set her at Justice feete, and lett the poysse,  
 By them directed bee and not by noyse.  
 Lett them his merritts way with his offence [weigh]  
 And you shall find a mighty difference ;  
 Rase not a goodly building for a toye  
 Tis better to repaire then to destroye :  
 You will not force his ashes to the urne :  
 Tush, that's not it, himselfe, himselfe will burne  
 When he butt finds his honour sounds retreate ;
- 150 Like a foule cage, himselfe to death will beate  
 And leaue the world when theirs no helpe att all  
 To figh and greiue for his untimely fall ;

- The skilfull surgeon cutts not of[f] a limbe  
Whilst theer is hope. O deale foe then with him;  
He wants not fortitude butt can indure  
Cutting, incission, for they promiss cure;  
Nay more, butt shew him wheer the eye fore stands  
And he shall search and dress with his owne hands;  
Would you annatomise, would you defect  
160 For your experience? O you may elect  
One of that houfe wheer you as judges sitt  
Diuers for execution farr more fitt;  
And when you find amongst, farr ouergrownne  
With foule corruption, then lett him be throwne  
Att Justice' feete let him be facrafize;  
Lett theer be new tortures, new plagues deuise  
Such as may fright the liuing from like crimes  
And be a presidint for after times  
Which long had records to ensuing dayes  
170 Shall still proclaime to your eternall praise.

*S<sup>r</sup> Walter Rawleigh to his Mat<sup>ie</sup> before his tryall.*

IT is one pt of y<sup>e</sup> office of a iust and worthy Prince to heare y<sup>e</sup> complaintes of his Vassalls, especially of sutch as are in greate misery. I know it amonege many other p'sumptions gathered against me, your mat<sup>ie</sup> hath bin p'fwaded y<sup>t</sup> I was one of them who were greatly discontented; and therefore y<sup>e</sup> more likely to proue disloyall. But y<sup>e</sup> greate God so releue me in both worldes, as I was the contrary. And I tooke as greate comfort to behoulde yo<sup>r</sup> mat<sup>ie</sup>, and alwaies learning some good, and bettering my knowledge by hearing yo<sup>r</sup> mat<sup>ies</sup> discourse. I do therefore beseech yo<sup>r</sup> soveraigne mat<sup>ie</sup> not to beleue any of those in my p'ticular, who vnder p'tences of offences to kinges, soe easily worke their p'ticular revenges. I trust no man vnder the colour of making examples shall p'fswade yo<sup>r</sup> mat<sup>ie</sup> to leaue the worde mercifull out of yo<sup>r</sup> stile, for it will no lesse p'fect yo<sup>r</sup> mat<sup>ie</sup> and become yo<sup>r</sup> greatnes, then the worde invincible. It is true y<sup>t</sup> the lawes of England ar no lesse iealous of the Kinges then Cæsar was of Pompeia his wife, for notwithstanding that she was cleared of having accompanied w<sup>th</sup> Clodius, yet for being suspected he condemned her. ffor my selfe, I p'test before the eve[r] living God, and I speake to my master and my Soveraigne, that I never invented treason, consented to treason, nor p'formed treason against him. And yet I know I shall fall in . . . . eorum a quibus non possum, vnlesse by yo<sup>r</sup> mat<sup>ies</sup> greate compassion I be fustained. Our law therefore (most mercifull Prince) knowing her owne cruelty, and knowing y<sup>t</sup> she is wont to compounde treasons

out of p'sumptions and circumstances, doth giue this charitable advice to the king, her superiour, *Non solum sapiens esse rex, sed et misericors ut cū sapientia misericordetur: sit iustus cū tutius fit reddere rationem misericordiae quam iudicii.* I do therefore on y<sup>e</sup> knees of my heart beseech yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ie</sup> to take counsaile from yo<sup>r</sup> owne sweete and comfortable disposition, and to remember y<sup>t</sup> I haue loved yo<sup>r</sup> mat<sup>ie</sup> 20<sup>tie</sup> yeares, for w<sup>ch</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ie</sup> hath yet giuen me no rewarde. And it is fitter I shoulde be indebted to my Soueraigne Lord, then the Kinge to his poore vassall. Saue me therfore most mercifull Prince, that I may owe yo<sup>r</sup> mat<sup>ie</sup> my life it selfe, then w<sup>ch</sup> there cannot be a greater debt. Lende it me at least my Soueraigne Lorde, y<sup>t</sup> I may pay it for yo<sup>r</sup> service, when yo<sup>r</sup> mat<sup>ie</sup> shall please. If the law destroy me yo<sup>r</sup> mat<sup>ie</sup> shall put it out of your power, and I shall haue none to feare but the kinge of kinges.

*Sr Walter Raleigh to his Mat<sup>ie</sup> after  
his condemnation.*

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THE life w<sup>ch</sup> I held, most mightie Prince, the lawe hath taken from me, and I am nowe but the same earth and dust out of w<sup>ch</sup> I was framed. If myne offence had any p'porcon w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup> mercy, I shoulde not disaire. If my cryme had any quallitie w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ies</sup> vnmeasurable goodnes, I might hope. But it is yo<sup>r</sup> great Ma<sup>tie</sup> that must iudge of both and not I. blood, name, gentrie, or estate, haue I none, noe not soe much as a beeing, noe not soe much as *vita plantæ*. I haue onlie a penitent fowle in a body of yron, w<sup>ch</sup> moveth towards the loadstone of death, and cannott be wh<sup>ch</sup>eld from touching, except yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup> mercy turneth the point towards me w<sup>ch</sup> expelleth. lost I am for hearing a vaine man, for hearing onlie and never beleeving or approuing, and soe little account I made of that speech of his w<sup>ch</sup> was my condempnacon (as the living god doth truly wittnes,) that I never remembred any such thing vntill it was at my tryall obiected against me. Soe did he repay my care (who cared to make him good w<sup>ch</sup> I see noe care of man cann effect) But god for myne offence towards him hath laid his heauie burthen vpon me, miserable and vnfortunate wretch that I am, but not for loving you my Sou'eigne hath god laid his forrowe vpon me, ffor god knoweth w<sup>th</sup> whome I may not disseemble, that I honored yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> by fame, and loved and admired you by knowledge. Soe whether I liue or die, yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ies</sup> true and loving servant I will live or die. If I nowe write that doth not become me most

mercifull Prince, vouchsafe to ascribe it to the Counsell of a dead hart, and to a mynd w<sup>ch</sup> sorrowe hath broken, but the more my miserie is the more is yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup> great mercy, if you please to behould it, And the lesse I maie deserue the more liberall is yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup> gift. God onlie yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> shall ymetate therein both in giving frelie, and by giving to such an one, from whom here cann be noe retribucon, but onlie a desire to repay a lent life, w<sup>th</sup> the same great loue w<sup>ch</sup> the same great goodnes shall please to bestowe it. This being the first l<sup>e</sup>e that ever yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> receaued from a dead man I humblie submytt my selfe to the will of my supreame Lord, and shall willinglie and patientlie suffer whatsoeu<sup>r</sup> shall please yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> to ympose vpon me.

W. R.

*To his good freinde Sr Anth. Cooke.*

HERE my Camelion Muse her selfe doth chaunge  
to diuers shapes of gross absurdities  
and like an Antick mocks w<sup>th</sup> fashion straunge  
the fond admirers of lewde gulleries.  
Your iudgement fees w<sup>th</sup> pitty, and w<sup>th</sup> scorne  
The bastard Sonnettts of these Rymers bace  
W<sup>ch</sup> in this whiskinge age are daily borne  
to theire owne shames, and Poetrie's disgrace.  
Yet some praise those and some perhaps will praise  
euen these of myne : and therefore thes I fend  
to you that pass in Courte yo<sup>r</sup> glorious dayes  
Yt if some rich rash gull these Rimes commend  
thus you may sett this formall witt to schoole  
Vfe yo<sup>r</sup> owne grace, and begg him for a foole.

J. D.

*Gulling Sonnets.*

1 **T**HE Louer Vnder burthen of his M<sup>ris</sup> love  
W<sup>ch</sup> lyke to Ætna did his harte oppresse :  
did giue such piteous grones y<sup>t</sup> he did moue  
the heau'nes at length to pitty his distresse  
but for the fates in theire highe Courte aboue  
forbad to make the greuous burthen lesse.  
the gracous powers did all conspire to proue  
Yf miracle this mischeife mighte redrefse  
therefore regardinge y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> loade was such  
as noe man mighte w<sup>th</sup> one man's mighte fustayne  
and y<sup>t</sup> mylde patience imported much  
to him that shold indure an endles payne :  
By there decree he foone transformèd was  
into a patiente burden-bearinge Asse.

2 As when y<sup>e</sup> brighte Cerulian firmament  
hathe not his glory w<sup>th</sup> black cloudes defas'te  
Soe were my thoughts voyde of all discontent ;  
and w<sup>th</sup> noe myste of passions ouercast  
they all were pure and cleare, till at the last  
an ydle careles thoughte forthe wandrингe wente  
and of y<sup>t</sup> poysonous beauty tooke a taste  
W<sup>ch</sup> doe the harts of louers so torment :  
then as it chauncethe in a flock of sheepe  
when some contagious yll breedes first in one

daylie it spreedes & secretly doth creepe  
till all the silly troupe be ouergone.  
So by close neighbourhood w<sup>th</sup> in my brest  
one scuruy thoughte infecteth all the rest.

- 3 What Eagle can behould her sunbrighte eye,  
her sunbrighte eye yt lights the world w<sup>th</sup> loue,  
the world of Loue wherein I liue and dye,  
I liue and dye and diuers chaunges proue,  
I chaunges proue, yet still the fame am I,  
the same am I and neuer will remoue,  
neuer remoue vntill my soule dothe flye,  
my soule dothe fly, and I furcease to moue,  
I cease to moue w<sup>ch</sup> now am mou'd by you,  
am mou'd by you yt moue all mortall hertes,  
all mortall hertes whose eyes yo<sup>r</sup> eyes doth veiwe,  
Yo<sup>r</sup> eyes doth veiwe whence Cupid shoothes his darts,  
whence Cupid shoothes his dartes and woundeth thosē  
that honor you and neuer weare his foes.
- 4 The hardnes of her harte and truth of myne  
when the all seeinge eyes of heauen did see  
they st freight concluded yt by powre devine  
to other formes our hertes shoulde turnēd be.  
then hers as hard as flynte, a Flynte became  
and myne as true as steele, to steele was turned  
and then betwene or hertes sprange forthe the flame  
of kindest loue, w<sup>ch</sup> vnextinguish'd burned  
And longe the sacred lampe of mutuall loue  
incessantlie did burne in glory brighte  
Vntill my folly did her fury moue  
to recompence my seruice w<sup>th</sup> despighte  
and to put out w<sup>th</sup> snuffers of her pride  
the lampe of loue w<sup>ch</sup> els had neuer dyed.

- 5 Mine Eye, myne eare, my will, my witt, my harte  
did see, did heare, did like, discerne, did loue :  
her face, her speche, her fashion, iudgemt, arte  
w<sup>ch</sup> did charme, please, delighte, confounde and moue.  
Then fancie, humo<sup>r</sup>, loue, conceipte, and thoughte  
did foe drawe, force, intyse, perswade, deuise,  
that she was wonne, mou'd, caryed, compast, wrought  
to thinck me kinde, true, comelie, valyant, wife ;  
that heauen, earth, hell, my folly and her pride  
did worke, contrive, labor, conspire and sware  
to make me scorn'd, vile, cast of, bace, defyed  
W<sup>th</sup> her my loue, my lighte, my life, my deare :  
So that my harte, my witt, will, eare, and eye  
doth greiue, lament, sorrowe, dispaire and dye.
- 6 The sacred Muse that firste made loue deuine  
hath made him naked and w<sup>th</sup>out attyre  
but I will cloth him w<sup>th</sup> this penn of myne  
that all the world his fashon shall admyre.  
his hatt of hope, his bande of beautye fine,  
his cloake of crafte, his doblett of defyre,  
greife for a girdell, shall aboute him twyne,  
his pointes of pride, his Ilet holes of yre,  
his hofe of hate, his Cod peece of conceite,  
his stockings of sterne strife, his shirte of shame,  
his garters of vaine glorie gaye and flyte ;  
his pantofels of passions I will frame,  
pumpes of presumption shall adorne his feete [slipper-shoes]  
and Socks of fullennes exceedinge sweete.
- 7 Into the midle Temple of my harte  
the wanton Cupid did himselfe admitt  
and gaue for pledge yo<sup>r</sup> Eagle-sighted witt  
Y<sup>t</sup> he wold play noe rude vncivill parte :

Longe tyme he cloak'te his nature w<sup>th</sup> his arte  
 and fadd and graue and sober he did sitt  
 but at the last he gan to reuell it,  
 to breake good rules and orders to peruerte :  
 Then loue and his younge pledge were both conuented  
 before fadd Reason, that old Bencher graue,  
 who this fadd sentence vnto him presented  
 by dilligence, y<sup>t</sup> flye and secrete knaue  
 That loue and witt, for euer shold departe  
 out of the midle Temple of my harte.

- 8 My case is this, I loue Zepheria brighte,  
 Of her I hold my harte by fealtye :  
 W<sup>ch</sup> I discharge to her perpetuallye,  
 Yet she thereof will neuer me accquite.  
 for now supposinge I w<sup>th</sup> hold her righte  
 she hathe distreinde my harte to satisfie  
 the duty w<sup>ch</sup> I neuer did denye,  
 and far away impounds it w<sup>th</sup> despite ;  
 I labor therefore iustlie to repleauue  
 my harte w<sup>ch</sup> she vniustly doth impounde  
 but quick conceite w<sup>ch</sup> nowe is loue's highe Sheife  
 retornes it as esloynde, not to be founde  
 Then w<sup>ch</sup> the lawe affords I onely craue  
 her harte for myne in wit her name to haue.
- 9 To Loue my lord I doe knightes seruice owe  
 and therefore nowe he hath my witt in warde  
 but while it is in his tuition soe  
 me thincks he doth intreate it passinge hard ;  
 for though he hathe it marryed longe agoe  
 to Vanytie, a wench of noe regardre,  
 and nowe to full, and perfect age doth growe  
 Yet nowe of freedome it is most debarde.

But why should loue after minority  
when I am past the one and twentith yeare  
perclude my witt of his sweete libertye  
and make it stll y<sup>e</sup> yoake of wardshippe beare.  
I feare he hath an other Title gott  
and holds my witt now for an Ideott.

Mr Dauyes.

---

NOTE.

[There seems no question that these are hitherto unprinted Sonnets by Sir John Davies, the Poet of *Nosce Teipsum*. See our *Introduction* for remarks on them. The Sir Anthony Cooke to whom these Sonnets are dedicated descended from the Sir Anthony who was Preceptor to King Edward VI., and for Letters by whom the Reader may consult the "Reformation" Correspondence of the Parker Society. His daughter Mildred was second wife of Lord Burleigh, and his daughter Anne was mother of Bacon. His son and heir Richard Cooke died in 1579, and was succeeded by his son Anthony (our Sir Anthony), who was knighted in 1596 by the Earl of Essex at the sacking of Cadiz. He was buried at Romford, Essex, on the 28th December, 1604. G.]

*Of a Painted Lady.*

I S'T for a grace, or is't for some dislike ?  
where others giue y<sup>e</sup> lipp, you giue the cheeke.  
Some houlde it for a pride of your behauour,  
But I do rather count it as a favour.  
Wherfore to shew my kindnesse & my loue  
I leaue both lipps & cheeke and kisse your gloue.  
Now what's the cause ? to make you full acquainted,  
your glou's perfum'd, your lipps & cheekes be painted.

We maddames that fucus vse  
greatly muse  
That being ripe fruite yee do not pluck vs.  
Since characters redd & white  
plainely write . . . . <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [What follows is obliterated. G.]

*Sr John Harrington to Quee. Eliza.*

---

READ Soueraigne & ever Loving Prince  
you redd a verse of mine a little fince  
And so pronounc'd each worde and every Letter  
your gracious reading made y<sup>e</sup> verse much better.  
Then fince your Mat<sup>ie</sup> w<sup>th</sup> guifts exceeding  
Can what you reade make better by y<sup>e</sup> reading  
Let my poore Muse your Grace so farr importune  
To leaue to read my verse, and read my fortune.

---

NOTE.

[HAZLITT'S *Bibliography*, s.n., and the like, furnish title-pages of a number of Sir John Harington's Verse-attempts. Like SIR A. COCK-AINE (who by some strange oversight is omitted by Hazlitt), his (so-called) Poetry is of interest mainly from allusions to contemporary persons, places and events. Yet are some of his Epigrams not without scintillations of antithetic wit, nor his heroic verse altogether lacking in sonorousness. His *Brief View of the State of the Church of England* (1653), has vitality still, from its personal portraiture of the dignitaries. G.]

*Of y<sup>e</sup> losse of time. Par J. Hoskins.*

**I**F life be time y<sup>t</sup> here is spent  
and time on earth be cast away  
Who so his time hath here mispent  
hath haftned his owne dying day.  
So it doth proue a killing crime  
to massacre our living time.

If doing nought be like to death,  
of him y<sup>t</sup> doth Camelion wife  
take only paines to draw his breath  
the passers by may pasquilize  
not here he liues : but here he dyes.

*Of one y<sup>t</sup> had stolne much out of Seneca.*

**P**UT of thy buskins Sophocles y<sup>e</sup> greate,  
and morter treade w<sup>th</sup> thy disarmèd shankes.  
for this man's heade hath had a happier fweate,  
whereof y<sup>e</sup> worlde doth conn him little thankes.  
Blush Seneca to see thy feathers loose,  
pluckt from a Swann stuck vpon a goose.

J. H.

*[Dreams.]*

YOU nimble dreames w<sup>th</sup> cobweb winges  
that fly by night from braine to braine  
and represent a worlde of thinges  
with much a doe & little paine :  
you y<sup>t</sup> finde out such easy waies  
through every stongest gate & wall,  
y<sup>t</sup> nowe your passage spies or staies  
not iealousye y<sup>t</sup> watcheth all.  
you visit ladyes in their beds  
and ar most busy in their case.  
you moue such fancies in their heads,  
you make them thinke on what yo<sup>u</sup> please.  
how highly am I bounde to you  
safe messenger of Secrecie  
that made my Mis<sup>t</sup> thinke on me  
iust in y<sup>e</sup> place where I woulde be.  
O y<sup>t</sup> you woulde my self preferre  
to be in place of one of you  
to goe one night & visite her  
then she might sweare her dreames were trewe.  
Yea trewe indeede, constant & fuer  
that truth it self shoulde not be trewer.

J. H.

*His melancholy.*

L OUE is a foolish melancholy  
leading y<sup>e</sup> minde w<sup>th</sup> falfe perswasion,  
else w<sup>ch</sup> way coulde I see my folly  
that loose whole time to gaine occasion.  
Cupid is stonge forsooth they say,  
his strength is but imagination.  
y<sup>t</sup> doth mistake for reason's sway  
the rash comande of idly passion.  
My loue is almost lunacye,  
me thinkes my hart is so on fire  
that though my M<sup>ris</sup> fende for me  
I dare not for my life come nyne her.  
me thinkes loue's sparcles so would start  
and at her sight giue forth such flame  
y<sup>t</sup> standers by woulde see my harte,  
and by y<sup>e</sup> light there reade my name.  
Then best to challenge her alone,  
though to accept it she be loath  
the match is equall, one to one,  
and solitude will right vs both.  
But having her alone I finde  
some greater thing then speach to doe  
though y<sup>t</sup> perhaps would ease my minde  
were it not losse of time to wooe.

Alone or elsewhere all's in vaine  
for every time y<sup>t</sup> yet we meete  
was but a cause to meete againe  
for somewhat y<sup>t</sup> I did forget :  
I will not loue, & yet I will  
for feare least I cleave of a looser ;  
I must not let my fute lye still  
least some man speede beside y<sup>t</sup> wooes her.  
Swet loue the god, or loue the boy  
make her wooe me if y<sup>t</sup> he can,  
let god or boy teach her y<sup>e</sup> toy  
I'le say at least he is a man.

Mr Hoskins.

## NOTE.

[DR. HANNAH in his masterly paper on Elizabethan Poetry in the *British Critic* (on which see our *Introduction*), has given some interesting notices of Hoskins, author of the four preceding poems. Thither and to Bliss's *Wood's Athenæ* and *Fasti* s.n., the reader is referred. Wood tells us egregiously that Hoskins was "the most ingenious and admired poet of his time, and therefore much courted by the ingenious men then living;" and again, "Few or none published books of poetry, but did celebrate his memory in them," and "fewer but did lay them at his feet for approbation before they went to the press." Further, "he polished Ben Johnson the poet and made him speak clean, whereupon he ever after called their author father Hoskyns," &c. &c. &c. A MS. of poems of Hoskins, "bigger than those of Dr. Donne," early went amissing. I fear its recovery would not be any great gain. Hoskins became famous as a Lawyer. G.]

*Who liues well.*

---

THE man of life vpright whose guiltles heart is free  
From all dishoneste deedes & thoughtes of Vanitye;  
The man whose silent daies in harmeles ioyes ar spent  
Whome hopes cannot delude nor sorrowes discontent.  
That man needes neyther Tower, nor armor for defence  
Nor secret vault to fly from Thunder's violence.  
But scorning all the chance y<sup>t</sup> fate or fortune brings  
He makes the heauens his booke, his wisedome heauenly thinges  
Good thoughts his only friendes, his welth a well spent age,  
The earth his sober Inne, and quiet Pilgrimage.

---

## NOTE.

[See our collection of the Poems of Lord Bacon in *Miscellanies* of the Fuller Worthies' Library (vol. i. pp. 52-3), for the above well-known Verses by him, from a MS. in British Museum. G.]

*Th' effects of loue.*

---

THE lowest trees haue topps : y<sup>e</sup> Ante her gall,  
the fly his spleene, y<sup>e</sup> little sparke his heate ;  
the flender haires cast shadowes though but small  
and Bees haue stinges although they be not greate.  
Seas haue their course & so haue shal Lowe springes,  
and loue is loue in beggers & in kinges.

Where water[s] smoothest runn deepe ar y<sup>e</sup> fordes,  
the Diall sturres, yet none perceaues it moue ;  
the firmeſt loue is in y<sup>e</sup> feweſt wordes,  
the turtles cannot ſingē & yet they loue.  
True hartes haue eies & eares, no tounges to ſpeake,  
they heare & ſee & ſigh, and then they breake.

Ladye, ſince firſt my hart became yo<sup>r</sup> thrall  
fowre faultes there were y<sup>t</sup> made you ſeeme vniuſt,  
ſtraunge in yo<sup>r</sup> choice & coy to choose at all,  
hard to beleue & eaſy to miſtrouſt.  
With theſe fowre faultes fowre vertues ſtill did ſhine,  
an angells face, ſweete ſpeaches, bewty, witt ;  
W<sup>ch</sup> makes me yours, though you ar never mine  
and ſo fast yours y<sup>t</sup> I ſhall never flitt.

---

Desire in y<sup>e</sup> (my choice) letts my desire [hinders]  
 and yet we both make shewe wee like & loue:  
 so diuers ar y<sup>e</sup> thinges y<sup>t</sup> we require  
 as goulde & droffe, as hell & heauen aboue:  
 I craue yor selfe, but you desire such muck  
 as matches make, but neuer bring good lucke.

They haue inough y<sup>t</sup> ar content in minde,  
 they want y<sup>t</sup> haue & do not vse y<sup>e</sup> fame ;  
 the churle w<sup>th</sup> greif doth leauue his goulde behinde  
 W<sup>ch</sup> strangers catch & spend it to his shame.  
 Then be contente sweete loue & thou haft store  
 of loue, & wealth, and what would'st thou haue more ?

---

The loue I beare is such as hath no ende  
 my faith is firme, desiring to deserue :  
 my thoughtes continuall thinking on my frende,  
 my hope y<sup>t</sup> she from promise will not fwarue ;  
 then fortune doe thy worst, I y<sup>e</sup> defye  
 loue, faith, thoughtes, hope ar setled till I dye.

What thinge can please mine eye, but thy sweete face ?  
 what founde mine eare, but echo of thy name ?  
 where woulde I liue but only in y<sup>t</sup> place  
 where thou dost rest, y<sup>t</sup> all my ioy must frame.  
 my choice is made & heere I doe protest  
 I do & will for euer loue the best.

Then let not worldly trash our harte diseauer  
 Whome honest loue doth seeke to ioyne togeather.

---

The Conquest rare doth greatest glory gaine,  
the strongest fortis by stowtest wights are wone,  
the hardesth thinges atchiude w<sup>th</sup> greatest paine,  
do breedē most ease when so y<sup>e</sup> worke is done.  
well labors he how so his time be spent  
that for his paines doth reape his hertes content.

God knowes my harte & what I do desire,  
but what I seeke shall fewe or no man knowe ;  
y<sup>e</sup> nobler minde y<sup>e</sup> higher doth aspire  
and for my parte I cannot stoope to lowe.  
Yet if I seeke to clime a step to highe  
god faue y<sup>e</sup> childe for if I fall I dye.

[too]  
[too]

In high attemptes y<sup>e</sup> bouldest blouds of all  
do best preuaile when perill once is past ;  
then liue or dye, or stande or slide or fall,  
clime sure I will, god set my footing fast.

And help me so to height of my desire  
as I do wish faue heau'ne to clime no higher.

---

#### NOTE.

[We have failed to trace the preceding anonymous Poems either in print or in MS. elsewhere. G.]

*A Reconciliation or Recantation.*

WELCOME firme hope, welcome againe my loue,  
Welcome desire in y<sup>e</sup> is peace & rest;  
eyes from her beautye see you ne're remoue  
but play w<sup>th</sup> fancy for it likes you best:  
Welcome affections, beautie's heauely bowre,  
Vnder thy shadowe shall y<sup>e</sup> winde refresh me ;  
long haft thou taught me loue, none teach me powre  
to shun suspect & feare, y<sup>t</sup> thus oppresse me.  
Then leade me throughe yo<sup>r</sup> ever springing way  
of hope, whose funnbright face will fancy moue  
and make y<sup>e</sup> stringe of my harte's harpe to say  
there is no heau'ne like to a woman's loue.

W<sup>th</sup> cheerefull welcome doth my harte embrace the, [thee]  
disdaine begone, dispaire I must displace the.

A. B.

Yee all haue led me into error's way  
W<sup>th</sup> hope of y<sup>t</sup> which now doth hopeles proue;  
Ye never more shall so my hart betray  
to set my heav'ne vpon a wōman's loue.

Farewell, begone, & in yo<sup>r</sup> roome I'le place  
disdaine in eyes, in harte dispaire of grace.

A. B.

---

## NOTE.

[Could A. B. be SIR ANTHONY BACON? G.]

*By y<sup>e</sup> Earle of Oxforde.*

---

WERE I a kinge I coulde comāunde content,  
W<sup>ere</sup> I obscure hidden shoulde be my cares,  
or were I deade no cares shoulde me torment,  
nor hopes, nor hates, nor loues nor greifes nor feares:  
A doubtfull choice of these three w<sup>ch</sup> to craue,  
a Kingdom or a Cottage or a Graue.

*Answēred thus by Sr P. S.*

**W**Ert thou a Kinge, yet not comāunde content  
 Seth Empire none thy minde could yet suffice :  
 Wert thou obscure, still cares woulde y<sup>e</sup> torment,  
 but wert thou deade, all care & sorrowe dies :  
 An easy choice of these three w<sup>ch</sup> to craue  
 No kingdome, nor a Cottage but a graue.

*An other of another minde.*

**A**KINGE (oh boone) for my aspiring minde,  
 a Cottage makes a Country swadd reioyce, [swain]  
 and as for death I like him in his kinde  
 but god forbid y<sup>t</sup> he shoulde be my choice.

A kingdome, or a Cottage, or a graue  
 nor last, nor next but first and best I craue :  
 The rest I can when as I lift inioy  
 till then salute me thus, VIVE LE ROY.

F. M.

*An other of an other minde.*

---

THE greatest kinges do least comande content  
for greatest cares do still attende a Crowne ;  
A graue all happy fortunes do prevent,  
making y<sup>e</sup> noble equall w<sup>th</sup> the clowne :  
    A quiet Country life to leade I craue,  
    a Cottage then, no Kingdome nor a graue.

---

NOTE.

[The Earl of Oxford is same as before ; see notes on Trial of Essex.  
The Sir P. S. is Sidney. We include these trifles in our collection of  
Oxford's Poems as before. There are other answers, but it is hardly  
worth-while to print them. G.]

---

*A Poem put into my Lad: Laiton's Pocket*  
by *Sr W. Rawleigh.*

---

ADY, farewell, whome I in silence serue !  
Woulde god thou knewest y<sup>e</sup> depth of my desire !  
Then mought I wish, though nought I can deserue,  
Some dropps of grace to flake my scalding fire ;  
But fith to liue alone I haue decreede,  
I'le spare to speake y<sup>t</sup> I may spare to speede.

---

## NOTE.

[Letters of Administration on the Estate of Sir Edward Leighton, knt., of Wattlesburgh, co. Salop, were issued from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 21st November, 1593, to his son Thomas Leighton, esq., with the consent of his relict Dame Elizabeth. She died in 1620. Probably this was "my Lad: Laiton" of these lines. These lines appear in Dr. Hannah's collection of Raleigh's Poems (*Courtly Poets*, p. 57). G.]

*A Passion of my Lo: of Essex.*

---

HAPPY were he, coulde finish forth his fate  
In some vnhauanted desert, more obscure  
From all society, from loue & hate  
Of worldly folke ; there might he sleepe secur ;  
There wake againe, & giue god euer praiise,  
Content w<sup>th</sup> hipps, & hawes, & Brambleberry ;  
In contemplacion passing stille his daies,  
And chaunge of holy thoughts to make him merry ;  
That when he dies his Tombe might be a bush  
Where harmeles Robin dwelleth w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> thrush.

*Per eundem.*

---

INGENIUM, studium, nūmos, spem tempus amicos  
Cum male perdiderim perdere verba leue est.

---

NOTE.

[These lines were included in a letter to Elizabeth, as *ante*. See our collection of Essex's Poems, as before. G.]

*Sr Philip Sydney lying in his death-bed.*

**I**T is not I y<sup>t</sup> dy, I do but leauue an Inne  
 where harboured was w<sup>th</sup> me all filthy kinde of sinne :  
 It is not I y<sup>t</sup> dy, I do but now begin  
 into eternall ioyes by faith to enter in.

Why mourne ye then my Parentes frindes & kin,  
 Lament ye when I loose, why weepe ye when I win ?

## NOTE.

[The word "Parentes" of line 5, betrays the non-Sidney authorship of these lines, seeing at the time of his death only one survived. G.]

[*Life-weariness.*]

**W**EARY of sinn but not of finninge,  
 ftriveinge to gaine, but neuer winninge,  
 feckinge an end, w<sup>th</sup>out beginninge  
 thus doe I leade my Life.

My wayes are pitfalls, smoothly hidden,  
My passions resty coults, vnridden,  
My pastymes, pleasures stll forbidden,  
my peace, is inwardē strife.

My meditation, thoughtes vnholly,  
my resolution, yeeldinge folly,  
my conscience, Sathan's monopoly,  
Sinne doth my soule inherrit.

My penitence dothe ill perfeuer,  
My faithe is fraile, hope constant neuer,  
Yet this my comfort is for euer,  
God faues not man for merrit.

[*Clergy.*]

---

**I**N elder times it was observèd, that  
The clergymen were leane, theire livings fatt :  
But in our daies the case is altered cleane,  
The clergymen ar fat, their livings leane.  
I searching founde this cause the chaunge to breed,  
They now feede fast, but then did fast & feede.

*Epigrammes.**In Baldū. 1.*

B ALDUS did never sweare since he was borne,  
 Yet at each word he saith he wilbe sworne :  
 A faulfe thou gettest, whilst yo<sup>u</sup> fault woldst flie,  
 for Baldus when thou swearſt not, thou doſt lye.

*In Chus. 2.*

Chus doth ſoe often to the Doctor goe  
 to know whether he be in healthe or noe,  
 that ſhortely if his frend chaunce to paſſ by  
 And aſke him how he doth, in coſteſie,  
 he will not anſweref him a poynfe ſo nice  
 Vntill he hath had his Docto<sup>r</sup>s aduice.

*In Brillū. 3.*

Doe but marke Brillus, his acquaintaunce well,  
 and you ſhall fee they all good clothes doe weare :  
 a faire ſuite hath a good witt he can tell,  
 then are his Clothes wiſer then he I feare.  
 Looke what he hath on : no, looke what he hath in,  
 An Afſe is an Afſe in a Lyon's ſkinne.

*In Goll. 4.*

Goll cald to fee a frend as he did paſſe  
 and all the while ſtood lookinge in a glaſſe

to see his freind : let that his arrant be ;  
I rather thinke he came him selfe to see.

*Chaucer's Fest. 5.*

I iape for iest old Jeffrey Chaucer vfed  
Ladies saie nowe the fence men chaw<sup>n</sup>ge and wrest ;  
Ladies mistake : the worde is not abused  
for iaping still is counted but a iest.

*In Charam. 6.*

Chara half angry w<sup>th</sup> my bawdie songe  
Streighte tould her husband she had done w<sup>th</sup> me  
fye Chara : I wold suffer much more wronge  
eare I wold tell what I had done w<sup>th</sup> the.<sup>6</sup> [thee]

*In Hyrum. 7.*

Hyrus entreates me to comed him to his frend,  
and I knowe nothinge in him that I can comed.

*In Mathonem. 8.*

Mathon, the dauncer w<sup>th</sup> the maple face,  
intreated was to revell in a maske ;  
wherefore vnto a shopp he hies apace  
and for a vizard speedilie did aske :  
the shopp was hunge w<sup>th</sup> glasses, and each side  
(quoth he) in haft, this vizard howe doest sell ?  
takeinge his face w<sup>ch</sup> in a glasse he spide  
for a true vizard : the shopp's boy laughed well :  
thus Mathon maskinge needes noe vizard beare,  
Who for a face a vizard still doth weare.

*In eundem. 9.*

Mathon hath got the barr and many graces  
by studdyinge, noble men, newes, and faces.

<sup>6</sup> [There is the contemporary naughty equivoque on "done." G.]

*In eundem. 10.*

Mathon doth all his Epigrammes compare  
to fuites w<sup>ch</sup> those in Birchin lane doe make ;  
for none but whome they fitt they alwaies are  
and such as please them for there owne to take.  
But Mathon, thou dost knowe this to be plaine  
that botchers worke so often is refused,  
that for to procure them owte themselves are faine  
and that's a shifte, w<sup>ch</sup> for good thrift is vsed :  
Beleve me Mathon when I speake the truth  
the stuff is made foe yll, it will not sell :  
none takes thy Epigrams : what then ensueth  
faith weare them owte thy self, they fitt the well. [thee]

*In eundem. 11.*

Mathon why sholdst thou thincke or Comon Lawe  
none can into an ordered method drawe  
Since thy rude feete, whose gate confusion wrought  
weare by greate paynes to ordered dauncinge brought.

*In Frijam. 12.*

Frisia faies faine she wold be ridd of me  
and on that scorne she taketh wondrous pride :  
(Frisia) harke hether what I say to the [thee]  
thou arte to ranck a Jade for me to ryde. [too]

*In Arnam. 13.*

Kinde Arna to her husband kift thes wordes,  
myne owne sweet Will, howe well I doe love the; [thee]  
if true thinkes he, the world noe such affordes  
and that 'tis true I dare his warrant bee.  
ffor never hard I of a woman good or ill  
but allwayes loved best her owne sweete will.

*In Valuum. 14.*

To weare a weapon is not Valuus' vse  
for him that dares not fighte, a good excuse.

*In Gildum. 15.*

Gildus at feastes doth talke, and carve, and call  
at every word S<sup>r</sup>, will you haue this bitt ?  
when he him self a bitt wantes most of all,  
to bridle his pratinge toungue that speakes noe witt.

*In Combū Contradictem. 16.*

I say that Combus is both learn'd and wise  
for what soeare I say he still denyes.

*In eundem.*

Combus of any thinge dares bouldly speake  
that may by learninge, skill or witt be gott ;  
like a blude horse that dares his necke to breake,  
downe any ditch, because he fees it not.

*In Celsum Medicum. 17.*

ffye vpon or complementes, theie are to bad : [too]  
Celsus the phisicon meetes his freind  
and faies that of his health he is most gladd  
when he wold haue him sicke; for him to send  
this greetinge Celsus, is full of suspicion :  
It cannot be harty in a Phisicon.

*In Norgum. 18.*

Mistakinge braines praise Norgus' witt for greate  
because great store of iestes he can repeate  
When tis his memory deserveth most  
for hoardinge vp what witty men haue lost.  
And who knowes not that thes two allwayes hitt  
a greate memorye and a little witt.

*In eundem.*

Norgus, all women courtes in this one fashyon  
 W<sup>th</sup> tellinge tales, and ieastes, and readinge Bookes ;  
 in others' wordes he speakes his feelinge passion,  
 nothinge his owne but fighes, kist handes and lookes.  
 Thoughe thou bewray much want by this hard shifte  
 yet therein Norgus I comend wife thrifte ;  
 In others witt, thou doft bestowe thy larges  
 bicause that in thine owne thou maift faue charges.

*A Description of Sponges the Gallant.*

Sponges is accounted a brave gallant,  
 a tall man, of greate spirite, and valyant ;  
 for he can borrowe, pawne, hoore, game, swere, crake,  
 take vp comodityes, stabb for the lye,  
 quarrell by booke, p'te streete frayes, reskewes make ;  
 he hath killed a man, and is growne proud thereby.

He playes at Primero over the stage,  
 fighte for the wall, and keepes a lac'te Cloke page ;  
 Ryde through the streetes in glisteringe braverie  
 and fwallowes not the least indignitie.

ffor since he had by chaunce some blind fold luck  
 in two or thre odd swaggeringe des'pate brawles,  
 none can this highe opinion from him pluck,  
 but fortunate rashnes, he valor calls.

When he a Costlie suite hath made, he goes  
 to every Ordinarie and friend he knowes ;  
 soe in one weeke himself to all he showes,  
 thus for a tyme his time he still bestowes.

Vntill at lengthe the tyme is come to paye  
 for his newe clothes ; a broker then he fendes

to arrest the suite, and in prisone laye  
where past redemp'tion his lyfe it endes.

His grave discourse is all of houres and playes [whores]  
Of Baftinadoes, Rapiers and disgraces ;  
talkes of him self and of his tall 'fought frayes  
or how he is esteemed in best places.

And for the pox he makes Apolegies,  
sweares that the blood it straungly purifies ;  
causeth fresh looke, cleane skinne, and p'fect hewe  
as free from ill as one half borne anewe :

This is the same that's thought so brave a gallant  
A tall man of greate spiritt and valiant.<sup>7</sup>

*The description of Limbrus.*

Limbrus mongst many women is reputed  
a rare fyne gent, of greate good p'tes ;  
and I haue often w<sup>th</sup> my self disputed  
howe he hathe sneakte that likinge to there hartes.

ffor this is all that I finde in the man :  
put of his hat full mannerly he can, [off]  
and kisse his hand, and make a handsome legge,  
offer service, p'test and favo<sup>rs</sup> begge.

Yet this he doth not by occasion ledd  
but in sett phrasēs generall and large :  
by still still ysinge readie in his heade  
he doth his threede bare Complem<sup>tes</sup> discharge.

well furnishte for a weeke — he is noe more —  
w<sup>th</sup> wordes of course and storiess half a score :

<sup>7</sup> [“Nere” written but erased, and “tall” placed above. *G.*]

But when he emptied is of that poore store  
he speaketh onely what he spake before.

well Limbrus, for thy owteside sake and face  
thow maist p'cure a So<sup>m</sup>er loves warme place  
But sure when that half yeare is spent and past  
thou wilt want Lynynge Wint<sup>r</sup> to owte last.

---

## NOTE.

[These Epigrams and satire Verses have terms and words that remind us of SIR JOHN DAVIES and JOHN HUTTON ; but must remain anonymous until some lucky accident reveals the authorship. We suspect that in some Sir John Davies is himself hit. G.]

[*Satire.*]

---

**M**ARRYE & loue thy Flavia, for she  
Hath all things, where w<sup>th</sup> others beautious be ;  
For though her eyes be small, her mouth is greate ;  
Though they be knowye, yet her teeth are ieat<sup>t</sup> ; [jet]  
Though they be dimme, yet she is light inough,  
And though her harsh hayre fall, her skin is rough ;  
What though her cheekes be yellow, her haire is redd,  
Giue her thine, she hath a maiden-heade.  
These thinges ar beautie's elimentes ; where these  
Meete in one, that one must as perfit, please.

If white & red & each good quality  
be in thy wench, nere aske where it doth ly :  
Though all her partes be not in the vfed place,  
She hath yet an anagram of a good face.  
If we might put y<sup>e</sup> letters but one way,  
in y<sup>t</sup> leane dearth of wordes, what coulde we say ?  
When by y<sup>e</sup> gammot, the musitians make  
A perfitt songe, others will vndertake  
By y<sup>e</sup> same gammot changed to equall it.  
Thinges simply good can neuer be unfit ;  
She is as faire as any, if all be like her,  
And if none be, then is she singuler.  
All loue is wonder ; if we iustly doe  
accompyt her wonderfull, why not loue her toe ? [too]  
Loue built on beauty, soone as beauty, dies :  
Chuse this faire, changde by no deformities.  
Women ar all like angels ; the good be  
Like those y<sup>t</sup> fell to worse ; but such as she,  
like to good angels, nothing can impaire :  
Tis lesse greife to be foule then to haue bin faire.  
For one nightes reuels, filke & gould we chuse.  
But in longe iourneis cloth & lether vfe.  
Beauty is barren off ; best husbands say  
Ther is best land wher ther is soulest way.  
O what a soveraine plaister will she be,  
If thy past sinnes haue taught y<sup>e</sup> iealousy !  
Here neede no spies, no eunackes, her comit  
safe to thy foes, yea to a marmoit.  
When Belgias citties the rounde countries droune,  
That dirty foulenes gardes & armes y<sup>e</sup> towne ;  
So doth her face guarde her, & so for the [thee]  
Which forced by busines oft must absent be.  
She whose face turnes (like cloudes) y<sup>e</sup> day to night,  
Who (mightier then y<sup>e</sup> Sun) makes Moores feeme white ;

Whome, though seauen yeeres she in y<sup>e</sup> stewes had laide,  
 A nunnery durst sweare she were a maide.  
 And though in childbed labour she did lye,  
 Midwiues woulde fweare 'twere but a timpany ;  
 Whome, if she accuse her selfe, I credit lesse  
 Then witches, w<sup>ch</sup> impossibles confesse.  
 Whome dildoes, bedstaues, & y<sup>e</sup> velvet glasse  
 Woulde be as loath to touch as Joseph was.  
 One like none, nor like of none, fitteſt were  
 For thinges in fashion every man will weare.

---

## NOTE.

[By Dr. Donne. Consult our edition of his complete Poems (2 vols. 1872-73, vol. i. pp. 169-70), where will be found full annotations. G.]

[*To a Poet.*]

**A** LL haile sweete Poet, full of more stronge fire,  
 Then hath, or shall enkindle any spirit,  
 I loued what nature gaue the ; but this merit [thee]  
 Of witt & art, I loue not but admire ;  
 Who haue before, or shall write after the, [thee]  
 Theire workes (though roughly labourèd) will be  
 Like infancy, or age to man's firme stay,  
 Or early or late twylight to mid-day.

Men fay, & truly, yt they better be  
That be envied then pitied: therefore I,  
Because I wish y<sup>e</sup> best do the envy: [thee]  
Or wouldest thou by like reason pitty me,  
But care not for me, I yt euer was  
In nature, & in fortune's giftes (alas  
Before thy grace got in y<sup>e</sup> muses schole  
A monster & a beggar) am now a foole.  
O how I grieue yt late-borne modesty  
Hath got such roote in easy waxen hartes,  
That men may not themselues, their owne good p'tes  
Extoll, w<sup>th</sup>out suspect of fusquedry.  
For, but thy selfe, no subiect can be founde  
Worthy thy quill; nor any quill resounde  
Thy worth but thine: how good it were to fee  
A poem in thy praise, & writ by thee.  
Now if this songe be to harsh for verse; yet as [too]  
The paintere's bad god made a good diuell,  
Twill be good prose though y<sup>e</sup> verse be euill.  
If thou forget y<sup>e</sup> rime as thou doft pas  
Then write, yt I may follow & so be  
Thy debtor, thy echo, thy foyle, thy zany.  
I shall be thought if mine like thine I shape  
All y<sup>e</sup> worlde's Lyon, though I be thy ape.

## NOTE.

[By DR. DONNE, being addressed to "M. I. W." in his Poems. See our edition in the place. G.]

[*To a Lady.*]

---

**W**HY dost thou deare affect thy viol so ?  
 And let thy loue forlorne, w<sup>th</sup> anguish go.  
 Thou't kindly set him on thy lap, imbrace  
 And almost kis, while I must voide y<sup>e</sup> place.  
 Thou't string him truly, tune him sweetely, when  
 Thou't wrest me owt of tune & crack me then.  
 Thou't stope his frets, but set no date to mine,  
 Thou't glie what ere he wants, but let me pine.  
 Thou knowest him hollow-harted, yet wilt heare  
 Him throughout w<sup>th</sup> an attentive eare.  
 And sing him such a pleasing lullaby  
 Would charme hel's churlish porter's watchfull eye  
 Keping true time w<sup>th</sup> him, as true may be.  
 But finde no time to kepe y<sup>e</sup> true to me.  
 Deare as y<sup>e</sup> instrument, woulde I were thine  
 That thou mightst play on me, or thou wert mine.

---

#### NOTE.

[Placed as this is among others preceding and following by DR. DONNE—all like it anonymous—it seems very certain that it too belongs to him. Accordingly the present editor has included this piece so marked by the characteristics of DONNE, among his Poems, as before. At the bottom of the page is written as a variant of the last line “that I might play on the [thee].” G.]

[*A Valediction forbidding Mourning.*] 

---

**A**S vertuous men passe mildly away  
And whisper to their soules to go,  
While some of their sad friendes do say  
Now his breath partes, & some say, no.

So let vs pt, & make no noise  
No teare-floudes, nor figh-tempests moue;  
Twere profanation of our joyes  
To tell y<sup>e</sup> Layety of our loue.

Movinges of y<sup>e</sup> earth cause harmes & feares  
Men recken what it did & ment,  
But trepidation[s] of y<sup>e</sup> spheares  
Though greater farre ar innocent.

Dull sublunary louers' loue  
Whose soule is fence, cannot admitte  
Absence, because it doth remoue  
Those things y<sup>t</sup> elemented it.

But we by a loue so much refinde,  
As our felues know not what it is,  
Interassurèd of y<sup>e</sup> minde  
Care lesse eyes, handes, & lippes to misse.

*Valediction.*

Our two soules then w<sup>ch</sup> ar but one  
 Though I must go, indure not yet  
 A breach, but an expansion,  
 As gould to ayery thinnes beate. [thinness]

If we be two, we be two so  
 As stiffe-twinde compasses ar two ;  
 Thy soule the fixt foote, makes no shew  
 To moue, yet doth if the other do.

And though it in ye center sit,  
 The while the other farre doth roame,  
 It leaues and hearkens after it  
 And growes erect as that comes home.

Such wilt thou be to me, who must  
 Like the other foote obliquely runne ;  
 Thy firmenes make my circle iust  
 And makes me ende where I begun.

## NOTE.

[By Donne ; see our edition, as before. G.]

*To a curious Lady.*

---

S TILL to be neate, still to be drest  
As you were going to a feast ;  
Still to be pouderde, still perfumde  
Lady, it is to be presumde,  
If arte's hid causes were but founde  
All is not sweete, all is not founde.

Give me a forme, give me a face,  
That makes simplicite a grace,  
Roabes loosely flowing, haire as free ;  
Such sweete neglects, more taketh me  
Then all the adulteries vfde in art,  
These strike mine eyes, but not mine hart.

---

NOTE.

[Song from BEN JONSON'S *Epicene*, act i. sc. 1. (1609, 4to.) G.]

---

*[The Lie.]*

---

- 1 **G**o, soule, the bodie's guest  
Vpon a thankles arrant :  
feare not to touch y<sup>e</sup> best ;  
the truth shalbe thy warrant :  
    Go since I needes must dye,  
    and giue them all the lye.
- 2 Say to the Court, it glowes  
and shines like rotten woode ;  
say to the church, it shoies  
whats good, but doth no good :  
    If Court & church reply,  
    then giue them both the ly.
- 3 Tell Potentates, they liue  
acting but others actions ;  
not loued vnles they giue,  
not stronge but by a faction :  
    If Potentates replye,  
    giue potentates the lye.
- 4 Tell men of high condition,  
that rules affaires of state,

their purpose is ambition,  
their practise only hate :  
and if they once replye,  
then giue them all the lye.

- 5 Tell thosē y<sup>t</sup> braue it most,  
they begge for more by spending,  
who in their greatest cost,  
seeke nothing but comending :  
and if they make replye,  
then giue them all the lye.

- 6 Tell Zeale it wants deuotion ;  
tell Loue it is but Lust ;  
tell Time it is but motion ;  
tell flesh it is but dust :  
and wish them not replye,  
for thou must giue the lye.

- 7 Tell age it dayly wasteth ;  
tell honour how it alters ;  
tell beauty how she blasteth ;  
tell favour that it faulters :  
and as they shall replye,  
giue euery one the lye.

- 8 Tell Witte how much it wrangles  
in tickle pointes of nicenesse ;  
tell Wisedome she intangles  
her selfe in ouer-wisenes :  
and when they do replye,  
straight giue them both the lye.

9 Tell Phisicke of her bouldnes:

    tell skill it is preuention;  
 tell charity of coldnes;  
 tell lawe it is contention:  
     and as they do replye,  
     so giue them still the lye.

10 Tell Fortune of her blindnes;

    tell friendshippe of vnkindnes;  
 tell nature of decay;  
 tell iustice of delay:  
     and if they do reply,  
     then giue them all the lye.

11 Tell artes they haue no foundnes,

    but vary by esteeming;  
 tell schooles they lack profoundnes,  
 and stand to much on seeming:                                  [too]  
     if artes and schooles reply,  
     giue artes and s[c]hooles the lye.

12 Tell faith its fled the Cytte;

    tell how the country erreth;  
 tell manhoode shakes for pitye;  
 tell Vertue leaft preferreth:  
     and if they do reply,  
     spare not to giue the ly.

13 Tell London of her stewes

    and cytizens of vsury;  
 and though it be no newes,  
 tell courtezans of lechery:  
     and if they do replye,  
     they best deserue the lye.

- 14 So when thou haft (as I  
comanded the) done blabbing,— [thee]  
although to giue the lye  
deserues no leffe then stabbing,—  
stab at the lie y<sup>t</sup> will,  
no stab thy foule can kill.

Wa. Raleigh.

---

NOTE.

[See our *Introduction* for the importance of the present and next related Poem; and for account of a much earlier MS. of the former, viz., Raleigh's Poem,— the gem of the present Chetham MS., as first pointed out by Dr. Hannah (as before). We regard the Raleigh authorship of this fine Poem as so important that we have given fac-similes of the closing stanzas of the above, and of the Raleigh-allusion stanza in the next, for frontispiece. G.]

*[Reply.]*

**G**O, Eccho of the minde,  
a careles troth protest;  
make answere y<sup>t</sup> rude Rawly  
no stomack can digest :

for why ? the lie's discent  
is over base to tell ;  
to vs it came from Italy ;  
to them it came from hell.

What reason proues, confesse ;  
What flander faith, denye :  
Let no vntruth w<sup>th</sup> triumph passe ;  
but neuer giue the lye.

confesse, in glittering court  
all ar not gouldē that shine ;  
yet say one pearle, & much fine gould  
growes in y<sup>e</sup> Prince's minde.

confesse y<sup>t</sup> many leaues  
do overgrowe the grounde ;  
yet say, w<sup>th</sup>in the fielde of God  
good corne is to be founde.

confesse, som judge vniuft,  
the widowe's right delay;  
yet say there ar some Samuels  
that never say her nay.

admitte, some man of state  
do pitch his thoughtes to hie;  
is y<sup>t</sup> a rule for all the rest,  
their loyall hartes to trie?

[too]

your wittes ar in the waine;  
your autumne in the bud;  
you argue from p'ticulers;  
your reason is not good.

and still y<sup>t</sup> men may see  
lesse reason to commend you,  
I marvaile most, amongst y<sup>e</sup> rest,  
how schooles & artes offend you:

but whie pursue I thus  
the witlesse wordes of winde?  
the more the crab doth seeke to creepe,  
the more she is behinde.

in church & comon wealth  
in court & country both;  
what! nothing good? but all to bad  
that every man doth loath?

[too]

The further y<sup>t</sup> you raunge,  
your error is the wider;  
the bee sometimes doth hony fuck,  
but sure you ar a spider!

*Reply.*

and so my counsaile is,  
for that you want a name,  
to seeke some corner in the darke  
to hide your self from shame.

there wrapp the sely flye  
W<sup>th</sup>in your spitefull webbe ;  
both church & court may want you well ;  
they ar not at such ebbe.

as quarrels once begun  
ar not so quickly ended,  
so many faultes may foone be founde,  
but not so foone amended :

and when ye come againe  
to giue the worlde the lye,  
I pray you tell them how to liue,  
and teach them how to dye.





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